

SOME ASPECTS  
OF MODERN GREEK SYNTAX  
by  
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### Abstract

The present thesis aims to describe some aspects of Mod Greek syntax. It contains an introduction and five chapters. The introduction states the purpose for writing this thesis and points out the fact that it is a data-oriented rather than a theory-oriented work.

Chapter one deals with the word order in Mod Greek. The main conclusion drawn from this chapter is that, given the relatively rich system of inflexions of Mod Greek, there is a freedom of word order in this language; an attempt is made to account for this phenomenon in terms of the thematic structure of the sentence and FSP theory.

The second chapter examines the clitics; special attention is paid to clitic objects and some problems concerning their syntactic relations to the rest of the sentence are pointed out; the chapter ends with the tentative suggestion that clitics might be taken care of by the morphological component of the grammar.

Chapter three deals with complementation; this a vast area of study and for this reason the analysis is confined to 'oti', 'na' and 'pu' complement clauses; Object Raising, Verb Raising and Extraposition are also discussed in this chapter.

The fourth chapter takes up Relative Clauses but again the analysis is confined to the two main relativizers that is, to 'o opios' and 'pu'. It is suggested that for 'pu' a complementizer analysis is quite possible. The second part of the chapter discusses Relative Extraposition which is explained in terms of thematic structure and FSP theory.

Chapter five is about Coordination in Mod Greek. An attempt is made to distinguish between 'sentential' and 'phrasal' in terms of 'processes'. Gapping is also examined and pragmatic considerations are taken into account for its analysis.

The thesis ends with a section which contains all the relevant bibliography.

## Acknowledgements

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### Abbreviations used

Acc.	Accusative
Adj.	Adjective
Adv.	Adverb
Art.	Article
Cl.(it.)	Clitic
Comp	Complement
DDT	Daughter Dependency Theory
DO	Direct Object
FSP	Functional Sentence Perspective
Gen	Genitive
Imp	Imperative
Imperf.	Imperfective
Ind.(ic)	Indicative
IO	Indirect Object
Perf.	Perfective
Pl	Plural
Prep	Preposition
Sg	Singular
Subj	Subjunctive
TG	Transformational Grammar

To my wife and my brother

0.1 The purpose

The present thesis is an informal discussion of some aspects of Modern Greek syntax. However, I must point out from the outset that what I intend to do is to give a description. My work, then, is 'data oriented' rather than theory oriented.

This is mainly due to my belief that linguistics needs first a collection of valuable facts from a diverse cross-section of languages before formulating linguistic theories. Trying to collect all data is like asking for the moon. But this does not necessarily mean that a scanty collection of some facts will do the job. The more facts we get, the better we will manage to make valuable generalizations based on these facts. What I mean is simply this: at the present stage of the development of the linguistic 'science', our knowledge and understanding of the languages is still not quite sufficient. As a result, current linguistic theories seem to indulge in a race of refuting one another; so much so, that one feels his faith in linguistics shaken. This situation is worsened by the "smart Alec", "clever-clever" attitude which rival theories maintain towards each other of the Frankenstein and the Zombies type.

Despite the fact that language changes, I do believe that a good description can become an everlasting possession; and a good description is more viable than a good theory. Indeed, I feel quite sure that Jespersen will be referred to by students of language when many present-day leading stars of linguistics will have been forgotten.

## 0.2 The Content and the Approach

I believe that a linguistic description can make a good use of both data derived from introspection and data drawn from texts. I have, therefore, taken my material from both. But since introspection involves some well-known risks I have employed informants or, to be more precise, consultants to check the correctness of the material. This was by no means an easy job to do. If we accept the thesis that language is behaviour then, how can I check the acceptability of some sentences where behaviour varies among the people I consult? The diglossia from which my country has suffered for so many years and is still suffering, in spite of the official recognition of the Dhemotiki, made things even more difficult. This led me to omit a considerable part of my data in an attempt to be fair to both: the young and radical, and the old and conservative.

The description - I must confess - is only partial and selective; most of what is described has to do with the syntax of the clause. However, the more I was trying to describe my native language the more I felt the truth of what Bar-Hillel said in 1974: "everyone who has been engaged in semantics or syntax should clearly be engaged in pragmatics" (Hillel 1974:365). The general thesis of this work, then, will be that syntactic phenomena have either semantic or pragmatic explanations. X

This thesis is about some aspects of Mod Greek syntax but it is also a kind of reaction against all those who strongly believe that all linguistic phenomena are primarily controlled by precisely formulatable syntactic conditions. For all

those linguists, any nonsyntactic factors are to be rejected as a sort of linguistic quackery to be resorted to only in case all attempts for precise syntactic formulations have failed, just as when someone suffering from an incurable disease, resorts to quacks when medical science is unable to help him. But clearly, this is rather unfair; and thank God

many scholars are now beginning to take into account such factors as discourse influence, the speaker's beliefs about the universe he lives in, perceptual strategies and others.

Theoretical issues are not the main concern of this thesis and there has been no prior commitment to any theory but I must point out that I consider this<sup>a</sup> liability rather than an asset. Indeed, most theses are written in the framework of a certain theory and this gives them a firm ground to stand on; it is a good start and good policy, too, to state from the very beginning that "the theoretical framework underlying this description is that of ..." especially if you have mastered that theory and you know how it works. Unfortunately, I have achieved no such thing myself. But, certainly, this does not necessarily mean that I have not drawn inspiration from linguistic theories; on the contrary, being fed on traditional grammar as a pupil, I feel that there is a kinship between the traditional approach and the current linguistic theories like TG or DDT. (R. Hudson 1976).

There is one thing, however, which always makes me skeptical, namely the overeagerness with which current theories try to make everything fit neatly and nicely in their own model as if they were suits made to measure. This is always



at the expense of descriptive accuracy and, there are analyses which are often based on faulty data. I will try to show how this happens by citing three examples from three different scholars.

Postal(1970) argues that simple reflexives are the manifestation of coreferents within the same clause. He adds that this argument gets "even stronger support" from the fact that other forms (like the emphatic own) manifest properties "essentially identical" to those of simple reflexive forms (cf. I have my own copy vs. \* I have your own copy.)

But this is by no means true for all cases. Sentences like you are my own or that's the man who killed my own son do occur and are supposed to be grammatical. It seems then that "coreferentiality" of the emphatic own is a speaker-oriented matter and there are cases when this coreferentiality that Postal claims it to be a rule, is impossible. Compare:

You are my own flesh and blood

\* You are your own flesh and blood

The second example I am going to give comes from the Daughter Dependency Grammar in which the "topic" has a "purely functional role" and is defined as a complement of the verb or a Wh-complement in a non-embedded interrogative. Hudson's "topic" which, as he says, is more or less M. Halliday's "theme" is restricted so that only one is permitted in any given clause. Hudson (1976) gives two sentences to illustrate this point (Hudson: 100):

For whom did he buy the other one?

\* The other one for whom did he buy?

The reason why the second example is ungrammatical is that we have two elements i.e. the topicalized the other one

and the wh-element for whom, occurring at the front of the clause. But given that either element can have the function "topic" not both, the sentence is rejected since the function "topic" must be assigned only once per clause (Hudson: 1976), and here we have two fronted elements contending for the same function.

In the first place the ungrammatical sentence could, in my opinion be improved by becoming the other one, who did he buy for? furthermore, there are sentences where a "topic" and a wh-element occur at the front i.e. Halliday's (1967) the play, where did you see?

These are difficulties confronting analyses which give "topic" a purely syntactic function; a bad policy, I should think, since "topic" if it has anything to do with syntax, this comes only indirectly, since topic is a semantico-pragmatic concept and a very vague concept at that.

The last example I shall be dealing with is from Modern Greek and concerns the word order in this language.

It is not difficult for one to notice a tendency in T.G. grammars to make everything "fit nicely" in the framework of Generative rules. Professor A. Koutsoudas' book entitled "Writing transformational Grammars" is described as an introductory course in syntax. The book contains data from various languages including Modern Greek and in a chapter (Requirements that Grammars must meet, p.50) Koutsoudas gives the following examples from this language:

(1) i Maria pezi

(article) Mary plays (Mary is playing)

(2) afti pezi

she plays (she is playing)

(3) pezi  
(she) plays

6

(4) \* pezi afti  
plays she (playing is she)

Sentences (1) and (2) have i Maria (Mary) and afti (she) as their subjects respectively. In sentence (3) the subject is implied from the verb end in -i of pezi: it is third person singular. Sentence (4) is branded as ungrammatical because of the reverse order: predicate-subject (plays she). However, being a native speaker of the language, I quite disagree with that view. In an emotive sentence the order predicate-subject (Mathesius' subjective order) might just as well occur.<sup>1</sup>

Depending on the situational context, it can express surprise, disapproval, indignation, irony, etc. on the part of the speaker. In English the same emotive colouring can be rendered with special intonation or with a phrase like "whatever next!..."

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1. In fact, there are many contexts in which (4) can occur. In a card game, for instance, where the question asked is: 'pjos pezi?' who's playing next? (4) is a perfect answer, uttered with 'normal intonation' (tonic prominence on 'afti'). In one sense 'afti' is a given element too but it is also "new" in a contrastive sense i.e. neither I nor you but she. (More on this in the Word Order chapter).

Then Koutsoudas goes on to make rules regarding the word order in interrogative sentences in Modern Greek: "the order of functional groupings in interrogative sentences is verb-complement-subject and in interrogative emphatic it is complement-verb-subject" (p.178). He gives the following examples:

(5) perimeni ti mitera o yitonas? Is the neighbour waiting  
for the mother?

(6) ti mitera perimeni o yitonas? Is it the mother the  
neighbour is waiting for?

(7) ine omorfa ta pedia? Are the children beautiful?

(8) omorfa ine ta pedia? Are the children beautiful?

So far so good. But the following sentences are condemned to bear the asterisk of ungrammaticalness for not obeying the transformational laws in spite of the fact that any educated Greek might use them:

(9) \* o yitonas ti mitera perimeni?  
the neighbour the mother is waiting for?

(10) \* perimeni o yitonas ti mitera?  
Is waiting the neighbour for the mother?

(11)\* ti mitera o yitonas perimeni?  
the mother the neighbour is waiting for?

(12)\* omorfa ta pedia ine?  
beautiful the children are?

Every native speaker of Modern Greek will agree that all the starred sentences (9-12) can be contextualized into perfect utterances. Surely, a descriptively adequate grammar does not want to exclude such sentences since they can be heard in everyday conversation, unless linguistics has resorted to the

kind of prescriptivism of which it has accused the traditional grammars of the last century. Besides, Koutsoudas does not seem to be indifferent to contextual considerations since he uses the word "emphatic". Only, he does not go the whole hog to examine the possibilities of 'emphatic' word order, something at which I will have a go in the following chapter where I will try to explain the relation between word order and "thematic structure" in affirmative sentences. But the same can apply to interrogative ones. In fact, there are no inversion rules and no auxiliaries in Modern Greek and, as far as I know, there is no reason whatever to postulate a different word order for interrogatives, particularly for yes/no questions without any wh-elements involved. And since I will not be dealing with the order of the elements in interrogatives, I shall spell out here some marked cases of the order of the elements in wh-questions where the variety of degrees of acceptability has nothing to do with any syntactic rules. Consider the following:

(13) p<sup>o</sup>te esi ir<sup>o</sup>es? (Marked)

When you came?

(14) esi, p<sup>o</sup>te ir<sup>o</sup>es? (Unmarked)

You, when you came?

(15) p<sup>o</sup>te ir<sup>o</sup>es esi? (Unmarked)

When came you?

(16) esi ir<sup>o</sup>es, p<sup>o</sup>te? (Unmarked)

You came when?

(17) ?ir<sup>o</sup>es esi, p<sup>o</sup>te?

Came you, when?

A sentence like (16) with the question word at the end-position is also quite possible; what makes (17) bad is a pragmatic

constraint rather than a word order rule. The pronoun 'esi' is dispensable since the person is copied onto the verb ending of 'ir0es'. However, if it does appear on the surface, it normally functions as a theme with a meaning: speaking of you, when did you come? But since themes are used as starting points and somehow lay the foundations of the sentence in its function as a discourse unit, they tend to occupy initial position. The next best place is the end-position, a kind of suspended theme which even Halliday (1967) accepts despite his rigid rule which requires that theme be the initial element of the sentence. The reason why (I7) is unacceptable, then has to do with the thematic structure of the sentence (see chapter on word order). Informally, we can formulate a rule for the order of the elements in wh-questions: either the theme or the wh-element (Focus) must be positioned initially.

Having expressed this skepticism about the way that grammars based on some theories treat data, I may give the impression of an atheoretical eclectic. I wish I were one of them! Eclecticism presupposes deep knowledge of the existing theories, which, I must confess, I do not possess. On the contrary, all the linguistic knowledge I have, I owe it to these very theories towards which I have maintained the attitude of an agnostic.

Non-commitment does not necessarily imply rejection, especially if one is not capable enough of finding decisive arguments to refute a certain theory. However, I stick to my principle that more light should be shed as far as data is concerned otherwise we are building castles on sand.

Modern Greek has suffered from the internal strife between "dhemotiki", the language the people actually speak, and "katharevousa" the purist language, which for a long time has been the official language of this country. Linguistic research was not an easy thing to do simply because of the linguistic confusion arising from diglossia. Even the little work that was done was on the phonology of the language rather than on anything else.

The first genuine piece of linguistic work in Modern Greek syntax<sup>1</sup> was an article by I. Warburton on the Passive Voice in English and Modern Greek. To my way of thinking, that was the first time that Modern Greek syntax was examined from a wider perspective, taking into account semantic and pragmatic factors as well.

This is not meant to disparage the work of excellent Modern Greek grammarians like M. Triandafyllides and A. Tzazanos; those scholars produced voluminous work containing observations and generalizations which my work can hardly approach in their attention to detail. However, a great deal concerning the basic linguistic principles has remained unexplored. Furthermore, the student of Modern Greek will not find individual articles on, say, the Modern Greek Relative Clause or the Complement Clause, or the Word Order or Coordination. And the work of the above-mentioned writers contains nothing concerning general, cross-linguistic concepts.

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1. This is really unfair owing to the fact that I stick to my principles that syntactic phenomena have semantic and pragmatic explanations, something that many students of linguistics would not accept but which I consider it a sine qua non of a linguistic analysis.

Thus, the present work has drawn inspiration mainly from American, English and Czech linguistics to which I owe all the linguistic knowledge I have acquired.

#### 0.4 Idealization of Data

This thesis is not meant to touch problems caused by the diglossia in Mod Greek. The language used in the present work is that of the "Athenian dialect" and, given the fact that Athens has now the one third of the Greek population, it is the language spoken by the majority of the Greeks. However, for simplicity of exposition, I shall have to ignore all dialectal differences thereby idealizing the facts to be dealt with. In formulating, for instance, a rule concerning the order of the clitics, it is stated that clitic objects precede the verb unless the latter is in positive Imperative mood or it is an adverbial Participle. This rule, however, ignores dialects in which clitic objects always follow the verb that is, dialects in which speakers say: 'ksipnisa se' I woke you up, instead of the nondialectal 'se ksipnisa'. Thus, the material to be described in the present work will be dialectally and stylistically undifferentiated since it will be assumed that we are dealing with a uniform language.



# 0.5 A Note on the Inflectional Properties

There will be a brief mention of the inflectional properties of verbs in this section for the sake of those who are not familiar with them.

The Verb in Mod.Greek is inflectionally marked for person: I,II,III, persons, Singular and Plural; for aspect: Perfective vs. Imperfective; for tense: Past vs. Nonpast; for mood: Imperative vs. Nonimperative and, for voice: Active Voice vs. Mediopassive Voice.

## ACTIVE VOICE

'vafo' paint

			ASPECT	
			IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE
NONIMPERATIVE (INDICATIVE)	TENSE	NONPAST	vafo	vapso
		PAST	evafa	evapsa
IMPERATIVE	TENSELESS		vafe	vapse

Nonimperative  
Imperfective

Imperative (tenseless)

<u>Nonpast</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Imperfective</u>	<u>Perfective</u>
ISg. vafo	evafa	IISg. vafe	vapse
II vafis	evafes	IIPl. vaf(e)te	vaps(e)te
III vafi	evafe		
IP1. vafume	evafame		
II vafete	evafate		
III vafun(e)	evafan(e)		

## MEDIOPASSIVE VOICE

'vafome' paint  
oneself, be paint-  
ed

			ASPECT	
			IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE
NONIMPERATIVE	TENSE	NONPAST	vafome	vafto
		PAST	(e)vafomun	(e)vaftika
IMPERATIVE	TENSELESS		vafu (rare)	vapsu

Nonimperative			Nonimperative	
<u>Nonpast</u>	Past		<u>Nonpast</u>	<u>Past</u>
	Imperfective			Perfective
- ISg.	vafome	(e)vafomun(a)	vafto	(e)vaftika
II	vafese	(e)vafosun(a)	vaftis	(e)vaftikes
III	vafete	(e)vafotan(e)	vafti	(e)vaftike
IP1.	vafomaste	(e)vafomaste	vaftume	(e)vaftikame
II	vafosaste	(e)vafosaste	vaftite	(e)vaftikate
III	vafonde	(e)vafondusan	vaftun(e)	( e)vaftikan(e)

#### Imperative(Tenseless)

Imperfective	Perfective
IISg. vafu (rare)	vapsu
IIPl. vafeste	vaftite

The Nonpast Imperfective is the Present tense of the Indicative in the traditional grammar; the Past Imperfective is the Imperfect (paratatikos); the Past Perfective is the so-called 'Aorist'. The mood markers (MM) 'Θa' and 'na' are used to form the Future tenses(Indicative) and the Subjunctive (Perfective and Imperfective) respectively:

- Θa vafo (Future Imperfective , Active voice )
- Θa vapsu (future Perfective , Active voice)
- na vafo (Subjunctive Imperfective , Active Voice)
- na vapsu (Subjunctive Perfective , Active Voice)

<sup>1</sup>  
Note that the 'na' + Nonpast Imperfective and Perfective are also used as an alternative type of the Imperative, particularly for the 1st and 3rd prsons.

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<sup>1</sup> Another MM used in the Imperative is 'as', let's which normally has a hortatory meaning but it may also express an assumption ie. 'as ipoΘesume' let us assume, consent ie. 'as erΘi mesa' let him come in, submissiveness ie. 'as me kanun oti Θelun' let them do what they want to me or, even indifference ie. 'as kamun oti Θelun' let them do what they like! (for all I care!).

Thus, 'na vafis' is an alternative type of 'vafe' and 'na vapsis' an alternative of 'vapse'. But pace Housholder et al, the 'na' construction cannot always replace the genuine Imperative at least not in cases of calling one's attention or in cases of commands for immediate action. Compare:

prosexe! erxete ena aftokinito!

Look out! there's a car coming!

and \*na prosexis! erxete ena aftokinito!

or prosekse!<sup>1</sup> erxete ena aftokinito!

and \*na proseksis! erxete ena aftokinito!

Also, as it happens with many other languages, the negative Imperative is formed from the 'na' Subjunctive with optional deletion of 'na'. The negative particle (always a proclitic to the verb) is 'mi(n)':

vafe!

paint!

(na) mi vafis!

don't paint!

Another mood marker, 'Θa' is used to form the Future: with the Non-past Imperfective to form the Imperfective Future, i.e. 'Θa vafo' and with the Non-past Perfective to form the Perfective Future i.e., 'Θa vapso'. However, the function of

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1. The Perfective and Imperfective Imperatives are often used interchangeably without any difference in meaning, as in the examples above ('prosexe', 'prosekse'). This is not always the case, however; consider the following examples:

i vafe to δomatío protu erθi to afendiko

paint (Imp.) the room before the boss arrives

ii vapse to δomatío protu erθi to afendiko

finish painting the room before the boss arrives

Sentence i does not refer to completion. It is just an urge or

this construction is not to render futurity only. Apart from expressing willingness, determination, promise etc., it is also used epistemically: 'Θα perimeni ekso', He must be waiting outside; or, deontically: 'Θα perimeni ekso mexris otu ton fonakso', He must wait outside till I call him.

The Perfective Infinitive 'vapsi' is used for the formation of the two compound perfect tenses, the 'parakimenos' which we may call Indefinite Perfect and which partly corresponds to the English Present Perfect, and the 'ipersindelikos', the Pluperfect. In the former case the Infinitive is preceded by the nonpast of the auxiliary 'exo' have i.e. 'exo vapsi'; in the latter case, it is preceded by the past of the auxiliary, 'ixa', have i.e. 'ixa vapsi'. Again, using the same auxiliaries and the Mediopassive Perfective Infinitive 'vafti', we can form the compound perfect tenses of the Mediopassive Voice, i.e. 'exo vafti', 'ixa vafti'.

Tenses like the Future Perfect of the traditional grammar have, sometimes, nothing to do with futurity due to the fact that 'Θα' is not a future marker but a mood marker (MM). Thus, a perfective tense preceded by 'Θα' may refer to either future or past time; for instance, the sentence 'Θα exi epistrepsi tote' which, by traditional standards is a 'tetelezmenos melondas', Future Perfect, is ambiguous between he must have returned, then, (epistemic) and, he will have returned by then (epistemic or deontic).

As far as the Subjunctive is concerned, it is labelled as

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a command to the addressee to keep on working. Sentence ii on the other hand, has a reference to the completion of the action i.e., finish painting rather than keep on painting.

Nonpast for tense because it may refer either to the present or, more often, to the future. What can function as Past Subjunctive is, in fact, the Nonimperative Past that is, the Past Imperfective and the Past Perfective, (the Imperfect and the Aorist of the traditional grammar) with the help of the MM 'na'. For instance the sentence 'na imuna plusios' if I were rich, shows that 'na' plus Past Imperfective which is Imperfect Indicative by traditional standards, expresses counterfactuality in the same way that the subjunctive remnant were of Mod. English does in the sentence if I were rich. Similarly the Nonimperative Past Perfective, the Aorist Indicative by traditional definition, can function subjunctively, if it is preceded by 'na' or 'Θa'. Thus, 'Θa epestrepse tote' is synonymous with 'Θa exi epistrepsi tote', on the past time reading of the latter. Again 'bori na irΘe' is perfectly synonymous with 'bori na exi erΘi', both meaning: he may have come. In traditional terms, however, the former is Aorist Indicative whereas the latter is Present Perfect Subjunctive.

What I am actually driving at is this: given the fact that Subjunctive is no longer marked by inflections different from those of the Indicative, there is no reason for the Nonpast 'vafo' and 'vapso' (preceded by MM 'na') to monopolize the term 'Subjunctive' since the Imperfect and the Aorist that is, the two Nonimperative Pasts can function Subjunctively, too. It is all a matter of mood markers. In fact, what we call Nonimperative is Indicative without a mood marker, and all other moods with a mood marker.

Note that it is only the Imperative that can never take a mood marker: \*'na vafe', \*'Θa vafe', \*'as vafe'.

1.1 General

This chapter will take up word order in Modern Greek. Inevitably, we shall have to discuss such notions as TOPIC, THEME, COMMENT, RHHEME, FOCUS, GIVENNESS which have, so far, defied definition and have remained notoriously vague; what conclusions I draw will, therefore, be tentative and subject to revision.

In terms of Greenberg's typology of basic word order, Modern Greek can well be described as being a basically SVO language. However, VOS, SOV, OVS, VSO and OSV can also produce well-formed sentences, as witness:

(1) a i mitera etimazi to fai (SVO)

The mother prepares the food

b etimazi to fai i mitera (VOS)

prepares the food the mother

c i mitera to fai etimazi (SOV)

the mother the food prepares

d to fai etimazi i mitera (OVS)

the food prepares the mother

e etimazi i mitera to fai (VSO)

prepares the mother the food

f to fai i mitera etimazi (OSV)

the food the mother prepares

We can then, say that Modern Greek has a free word order<sup>1</sup> in the sense that anything can move anywhere; this, however, is a big claim to make and we shall have to modify it later on.

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1. This freedom of word order in Modern Greek has been pointed out by I. warburton (1976).

Bach(1974) has pointed out that the phenomenon of free word order is always the result of special, possibly context-dependent rules for "focus", "emphasis" and the like. (see Bach, 1974, p.27 5 ff). Leaving aside the vague term "emphasis", we shall go on to discuss the sentences above in connection with the concept of Focus of information. I would define the Focus of information as the element of the sentence which the speaker chooses to present as new or important information in a specific context. Now, if there is something on which linguists more or less agree with each other, *it* is the idea that new information tends to occupy the end-position in the sentence, unlike old, background information, which normally takes up initial position. This arrangement is a strategy which the speaker adopts obeying his own common sense. If we wish to indulge in a kind of simplified psychology we might go on to say that this is a way for him to render his message more effective by building up a kind of suspense for his addressee whereby the pithiest part of what he says is kept from him till the last moment. This end-important position is the principle that governs the FSP theory (Mathesius, Firbas, Daneš<sup>✓</sup> etc). Quirk et al., 1972 have called it the "end-focus principle" and Bever 1976 the "hard last" rule.

Here, however, we must mention another concept: that of the normal stress; by normal stress we mean the stress that normally falls on the last accented word of the sentence; there is, therefore, a connection between the end-focus principle which says that the last element is normally the most important from the viewpoint of communication and the notion that stress falls on the last accented word: the

speaker stresses the word in which he believes that the main burden of his message lies. Tonic prominence then, and end position are the two main features of focus though only the former is indispensable. Focus is normally but not always placed at the end. Returning to our first sentence, which I will repeat

(1) a i mitera etimazi to fai

the mother prepares the food

we can assign Focus to the last element of the sentence, which I have underlined.

Now the fact that in the unmarked case the last element (to fai) receives tonic prominence does not necessarily imply that it is the only New element in the sentence; it all depends on the context. The sentence can be uttered by someone as a piece of information, in which case every element of the sentence is New in the sense that it is not recoverable from previous context. Here one may object by saying that a definite noun like "the mother" cannot be anything but Given, since notions like father, mother, brother are among the main ingredients of what constitutes the speaker's and the addressee's model of the world. This is correct but in our case we are talking of Contextual Newness. One can easily imagine a situation in which a "pater familias" is engaged in a hot discussion on politics with his grown-up sons and his young daughter, who was out playing, enters the living-room all of a sudden to utter the (1)a. The participants do know that they have a wife and a mother and that she will cook something for them at some time of the day. But the information comes as New by way of context. They might have been so absorbed with their discussion that they had forgotten it was almost dinner time!



On the other hand, (a) could have been an answer to a question like 'ti kani i mitera?' what is the mother doing? or even 'pu ine i mitera?' where is the mother? ; in that case 'i mitera' would have been the Given element and the rest of the sentence New, but the Focus of the sentence would have been the same, namely: the last element 'to fai'.

Now in both the supposed questions we have used the word 'mitera' and (a) starts off with this element and then goes on to state something about it.

We can now describe this element as the "theme". Theme is "what I am talking about". The rest of the sentence, which is what is said about it, is the "rheme". These definitions do not differ from the ones given to the subject and predicate by the traditional grammarians. Even the terminology does not differ much; theme is the classical Greek "thema" which on one reading is synonymous with "hypokeimenon", the subject: both can mean what is placed, set, or laid down; on the other hand, rheme comes from the Greek rhema which means what is said and by extension it means verb, a meaning which Modern Greek has retained.

We can say, then, that the theme has much in common with the subject and the rheme with the predicate. And indeed in languages whose order is not free the two tend to conflate. However, when we deal with the theme, we examine the field which studies the aspect of linguistic structure which has to do with its organization as a system of communication. We can, therefore, following Lyons (1977), draw a distinction between "grammatical" subjects and "thematic" subjects. And it would not be impertinent, I should think, to make an excursus on the theories of those linguists whose concern has been the way in

which language systems are designed to perform communicative functions.

### 1.3 Theme and Rheme (The Prague approach)

In the past, the role of the communicative function of language was a neglected area despite the very fact that many scholars had preoccupied themselves with such notions as "point de départ" and "but de discours", "psychological subject" and "psychological predicate", "theme" and "rheme".

It was only in the last century that scholars began to realize that there must be other factors beyond the grammatical rules that play an important role in determining the order of the words. One of them in particular, Henri Weil, a French classicist, deserves the title of the forefather of the FSP theory. His pioneer work "De l'ordre des mots dans les langues anciennes comparées aux langues modernes", published in 1844, became later an inspiration for the Bohemian Anglicists. An English version of his monograph with the title "The order of the words in the ancient languages compared with that of modern languages" came out in Boston in 1878; Weil blazed a trail in the history of linguistics by making the important distinction between the movement of ideas and the syntactical movement in the sentence; in his opinion, the movement of ideas is expressed by the order of words whereas the syntactical movement by terminations (p.43 of the English translation of the monograph). A sentence is made up of two parts: the "point of departure" (point de depart) and the "goal of discourse" (but du discours). The point of departure is present to both the speaker and the hearer. It is "their

rallying point", "the ground on which they meet". The information which the hearer receives is presented by the goal of discourse. He points out that the movement from the point of departure (also called "initial notion") to the goal of discourse reveals "the movement of the mind itself" (p.43). He believes that the order of ideas remains fundamentally the same in spite of the fact that languages display superficial differences in structure when compared with one another. Weil observes a tendency in modern languages to make the grammatical subject express the point of departure. However, a reverse order with the goal of discourse put first is also possible; this is described as a means of expressing emotion rather than rendering relaxed speech.

Apart from Weil's contribution to the formation of the Functional Sentence Perspective theory, we should also mention some ideas developed in the last century in connection with the notions of "subject" and "predicate", two notions which had caused great difficulties in the past. The definition given to the subject by the Greek philosophers as "the underlying topic" (ὑποκείμενον) was found inadequate. In a sentence like "Paul came home", for instance, said as an answer to the question 'who came home?', the word 'Paul' is not in fact "the underlying topic" but part of what is said about the topic, which is 'homecoming', the (κατηγορημα) by Greek definition.

These considerations led to the introduction of a distinction between grammatical and psychological subject and predicate. Thus in the sentence 'Paul came home' said as an answer to the question 'what did Paul do?' the word Paul is

considered to be both grammatical and psychological subject. But if the sentence Paul came home informs us about the person who came home, then Paul can be described as the grammatical subject and at the same time psychological predicate of the sentence, whereas 'came home' is in this case the grammatical predicate and the psychological subject.

Despite the fact that this bipartition has raised many objections, one has to admit that it offers a new insight. The sentence can now be seen as possessing two structures, a linguistic and a cognitive one; in other words, the sentence is not only a grammatical act but a cognitive act as well.

The problems raised by Henri Weil in connection with the language as a tool of communication offered a challenge which was readily accepted by the Prague School. V. Mathesius (1928) deserves the title of the father of the RSP theory. One of his most significant contributions is his inquiry into the communicative function of language. He assumed that the aim of the communicative function in particular utterances is to impart new information, Hence an utterance can be divided into two parts: a part containing old information which sets the stage for the purposeful content of the utterance, and another which conveys new information. The part containing the old or given information was named "theme" whereas the part containing new information was called "rheme". The order of theme and rheme in a sentence varies in accordance with the modes of speech communication. Mathesius distinguishes two modes which he calls "objective order" and "subjective order" respectively. The former occurs in "relaxed speech and in that case the

theme normally preceds the rheme"; the latter (the subjective order) is in the mode which is characterized by special prosodic features, as in excited speech, for instance, and has normally the rheme first followed by the theme. We may illustrate the difference between the two orders using the same sentence. Thus the utterance 'Peter has gone' with ordinary declarative intonation and no contrastive stress has Peter as its theme and 'has gone' as the rheme. This can be used as an answer to a question like 'what happened to Peter?' and it is a typical case of objective order. If, however, the same sentence is pronounced with a contrastive stress on "Peter", as for instance in a reply to the question 'but WHO has gone?' then we have a subjective order with 'Peter' as rheme and 'has gone' as theme (cf. grammatical psychological subject and predicate previously mentioned).

In spite of the fact that Mathesius' approach tends to be impressionistic in that he interpreted the elements of a sentence in a rather intuitive way and in that his definition "adduced 'givenness' as the first characteristic of the defined phenomenon" (O.Dahl:190), it is thanks to him that several important facts were established, as for instance, the principle of the tension between FSP and grammatical word order in English which results in the creation of special passive constructions and also the possible participation of FSP in producing marked word orders.

The concepts of FSP and theme and rheme were further elaborated by the next generation of Brno Anglicists, notably by Jan Firbas and Frantisek Daneš. Firbas' re-valuation (1964) no longer defines theme in terms of "givenness" but in terms of communicative dynamism (=CD).

For Firbas the theme is the element which carries the lowest degree of CD within a sentence. What is meant by the degree of CD carried by a linguistic element is "the extent to which the element contributes to the development of communication", to which, so to speak, "it pushes the communication forward". The sentence structure Mary is hungry can thus be interpreted as follows: Mary carries the lowest degree of CD, "hungry" the highest, is ranks between the two. In Firbas' theory given elements are always thematic but this does not necessarily mean that theme is always made up of given elements. In the sentence a boy beat a dog the phrase a boy which constitutes the theme is not made up of given elements; it nevertheless has a lower degree of CD than beat and an even lower than the phrase a dog which here is the rheme "proper" i.e. the element carrying the highest degree of CD (in contrast with the theme "proper", the element carrying the lowest degree of CD in the sentence).

Mathesius, who based his theory of theme and rheme on a contrastive analysis between Czech and English, had remarked that languages with a fixed order (like English) are less susceptible to FSP than languages like Czech which enjoys a freedom of word order. Thus sentences like 'A girl came into the room' would have been branded by him as not susceptible to FSP since they follow the reverse of the ordinary sequence of theme-transition<sup>1</sup>-rheme by starting with a sentence element which introduces new (unknown) information. It is here that Firbas' positive contribution to FSP has reduced its impressionistic character. He made it clear that FSP is not subservient to any word order. For this reason any element in the sentence

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1. "Transition" is a term given to the elements which carry neither the highest nor the lowest degree of CD.

is capable of carrying the highest degree of CD irrespective of its position. In the above sentence the verb 'came' expresses the idea of appearing on the scene, the adverbial phrase into the room stands for the scene itself, and the subject of the sentence a girl signals the person appearing on the scene. Firbas introduces here another term: 'contextual dependence'. A contextually dependent element will carry the lowest degree of CD irrespective of position. The adverbial into the room in spite of its end position has been "dedynamized" owing to its contextual dependence, i.e. the definite article 'the' shows that the room is a predictable element of the sentence; it can be traced in the preceding context. On the contrary, the subject a girl is an element newly introduced as we can see from the non-generic indefinite article; consequently, it carried the highest degree of CD in the sentence. Firbas sees the distribution of the degrees of CD over the sentence elements as an interplay of the tendency towards what he calls "the basic distribution of CD" on the one hand, and the context and the semantic structure on the other. The basic distribution is a notion akin to what D. Bolinger (1952) describes as "linear modification", a gradation of position of the elements which runs parallel with a gradation of meaning: an opening with the element carrying the lowest degree of CD (i.e. what H. Weil conceived as "the movement of the mind"). However, this presupposes a full cooperation of the semantic structure and of the context. If either or both of those two important factors work counter to the basic distribution (linearity), the elements of the sentence are dynamized or dedynamized irrespective of position. Very roughly speaking words with more speci-

fic meanings are likely the function as rhemes, thus acquiring the highest degree of CD, whereas words with more general meanings usually become themes. Here one should also mention the property of some words to become "rhematizers" i.e. to increase the degree of CD of another word which they modify so that the latter becomes rheme proper. Consider for instance the following sentences which differ in that the word 'even' precedes the subject-theme of sentence (2).

(1) Mary caught a fish

(2) Even Mary caught a fish

In sentence (1) Mary is merely the theme carrying the lowest degree of CD (fish being the rheme and "caught" the transition). In sentence (2) however, the word even renders Mary the most important element from the communicative point of view; thus, the theme of sentence (1) becomes rheme in sentence (2).

The linguistic theory of FSP has gained a great deal from F. Daneš' insights into the structure of the language as exemplified in his widely known article "A three-level Approach to Syntax". His theory can be regarded as a further development of what Mathesius had postulated before him; that both lexical and grammatical means have been made to function in a definite kind of perspective. Daneš distinguishes between three levels: the semantic level, the grammatical level and the level of FSP (the organization of the utterance). The third level makes it possible to understand how the semantic and the grammatical structures function in the very act of communication, that is at the moment they are called upon to convey some extralinguistic reality reflected by thought.



Daneš has also clarified some points concerning the notion of "givenness". He points out that considerations of divergencies should be taken into account when we define givenness as something recoverable from the context situation and the common knowledge of the speaker and the listener. It is possible to postulate a kind of hierarchy or stratification of the feature "givenness", that is, a theme can be found not only in utterances but also in paragraphs or in the whole text. This kind of theme he calls "hypertheme" and it is understood that such hyperthemes of, say a chapter, will be regarded as "given" throughout the whole chapter. Again, as far as contextual determination is concerned, the term "contextually given" can be made to include elements previously mentioned in a direct or indirect way: synonymy, hyponymy-hyperonymy, and associative relations can all determine givenness. Thus the expression "pupil" may convey known information if the words "school" or "teacher" have been mentioned before in the same text. Daneš is in agreement with Beneš in believing that linguistic investigations should aim at finding out connections between FSP and the semantic structure of the sentence: "the different semantic relations between theme and rheme might supply a criterion for a linguistically relevant classification of utterances" (cf. with Beneš: "this relationship of the rheme and theme can be regarded as the constituent act of an utterance just as the relationship of subject to predicate as the constituent act of the sentence").

Mathesius, Firbas and Daneš are not the only Czechoslovak linguists who have contributed to the development of the FSP theory. Research work carried out by P. Novac, A. Svoboda, M. Dokulil, P. Sgall, E. Beneš, to mention only a few, has

given a fundamental insight into this important and otherwise neglected area of linguistics, the area whose concern is the function of creating "text" or "texture".

#### 1.4 The Hallidayan Approach

M.A.K. Halliday has brought to England V. Mathesius' theories of FSP. His own theory makes a distinction between "function" and "use" within the adult language system. Language can be used "in a vast number of ways", depending on the purpose we use it for, but no finite set of uses can be identified and consequently no grammar can be possibly written for each of these uses. On the contrary, a finite set of functions is identifiable. He distinguishes three functions, the "ideational", the "interpersonal" and the "textual". The ideational component deals with man's own experience of himself and of what is around him. The interpersonal is the grammar of personal participation (Halliday 1973). It has to do with the language that man uses in his role as a member of a social group, his give-and-take dealings with his fellow members in society. The textual component is concerned with the creation of text; it expresses the structure of information and the relation of each part of discourse to the whole and to the setting. Halliday has further identified his ideational component with F. Daneš' semantic level and Bühler's representational function; his interpersonal with Daneš' grammatical level and Bühler's conative and expressive function; and his textual component with Daneš' level of organization of the utterance; Bühler has nothing to offer here as he is not primarily concerned with the nature of the linguistic system. Halliday points

out that in spite of the very fact that there is a difference between the textual component and the other two, in that the former is intrinsic to language and thus instrumental and not autonomous; it should not be looked upon as a function restricted to parole or to the utterance but as an integral component of the language system: what actually represents a part of the meaning potential of this system.

In two of his best known articles Halliday has tried to relate the textual component to the ideational (Halliday 1967, 1968) and to the interpersonal (Halliday 1971). For Halliday the thematic structure of a sentence or clause is closely-linked to another aspect of the textual organization of the language which he calls "information structure". Thus in the broad area of FSP we can distinguish (1) 'information-focus' or "given-new" and (2) thematization: theme, rheme. The former determines the organization of text into discourse units or units of information, the latter frames each clause into the form of a message about one of its constituents. The distinction between those two structures is summarized as follows: while "given" means "what you were talking about" or ("what I was talking about before"), theme means "what I am taking about" or ('what I am talking about now'). Here Halliday disagrees with Mathesius in whose original formulation the two structures tend to become conflated. He also calls the theme "the point of departure" a term which Mathesius had used in connection with "known" or (given) information. Halliday's distinction is no doubt a very useful one. The differentiation between "known" and "theme" is indispensable owing to the fact that there are cases where the theme may convey new information or where the ranges of both do not fully coincide: in the sentence "a girl broke a vase" the subject "girl" is

the theme of the sentence without being "known" (cf. Firbas 1964).

However, one can disagree with Halliday on two points (a) when he presents the theme as something coming "out of the blue" (in his words: independent of what has gone before) and (b) when he insists that the first position in the clause expresses the function of a theme. Consider for instance the sentence:

(3)	Suddenly		the rope gave way
	Theme		Rheme

(taken from his "Language Structure and Language Function" article). Is the word 'suddenly' "what I am talking about?" Such a view seems to me rather counter-intuitive, to say the least.

Concerning the other point of disagreement (the theme's independence of what has gone before), Halliday states that the speaker's choice is not determined by the context; but how can the theme of an utterance be fortuitous and unmotivated, having no connection with the rest? Further, Halliday's position in connection with the rheme of the sentence is far from clear; the theme is assigned initial position in the clause and "all that follows is the rheme".

### 1.5 Topic and Comment, Focus and Pressuposition

Theme and rheme have been named "topic" and "comment" respectively in American linguistics and Hockett (1958) regards them as language universals. In "Aspects" Chomsky comes to the conclusion that "order is significant in determining the grammatical relations defined by surface structures though it does not seem to play any role as far as grammat-

ical relations in deep structures are concerned." He further suggests that Topic-Comment may be regarded as the "basic grammatical relation of surface structure corresponding (roughly) to the fundamental Subject-Predicate relation of deep structure".<sup>(cf. "Aspects" p. 221)</sup> Hence the topic of the sentence is defined as the left-most NP immediately dominated by S in the surface structure and the comment of the sentence as the rest of the string. This is quite similar to the definition of theme as "the take-off" the "starting point" etc. (the rest being the rheme); in other words, it is a Hallidayan definition plus the Chomskyan terminology. So far so good, though nothing new has been added. When, however, he goes on to classify the "topic-of" as one of his "major categories" and to make "John" the topic of the cleft sentence "it was John who I saw", one is led to believe that Chomsky's "topic-of" stands for the comment of Hockett and the rheme of the Prague School. For it is quite clear that 'John' constitutes the "new" information in the sentence and that it is marked by the tonic nucleus (probably an answer to the question: "who was it that you saw?"). Apparently, therefore, Chomsky confuses the "topic" with what he himself will later (Deep Structure, Surface Structure and Semantic Interpretation) call "focus" which should normally be identified with the comment and the rheme<sup>1</sup>.

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1. This is one of the most crucial points: where does Focus belong to? The topic or the comment? Halliday's focus can be the theme as well. However, most linguists would agree that topic and focus are opposite poles; the former standing for "what I am talking about" and the latter belonging to "what is said about it" i.e. to the comment or rheme.

Extended Standard Theory and Interpretive Semantics have taken an interest in the concepts of presupposition and focus. N. Chomsky has now accepted as a fact that semantic interpretation can sometimes be more closely related to the Surface Structure than to the Deep Structure and he reaches the conclusion that "the notions" of "focus", "presupposition" and "shared presupposition" (even in cases where the presupposition may not be expressible by a grammatical sentence) must be determined from the semantic interpretation of sentences if we are to be able to explain how discourse is constructed and how language is used. One can detect here an influence from Halliday (something that Chomsky would never admit) in that "discourse construction" and "language in use" become Chomsky's concern.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the presupposition-focus theory owes a great deal to Halliday's previous work on thematic structure. His "informational unit" represents the speaker's organization of the discourse into message units; the information focus realized as the location of the tonic nucleus represents his organization of components of each such unit in a way that at least one such component is represented as not being derivable from the preceding discourse. This component then, is the new information, the "focus".

Let us now turn to the other part, the presupposition. One cannot possibly determine the place of presupposition in linguistics without first giving a definition of this concept. Yet the definitions given so far are far from satisfactory; not to mention the fact that even presupposition itself and its place in linguistics has been questioned by many scholars. (cf. Ruth Kempson, 1975; D. Wilson, 1975.).

<sup>1</sup> In "Deep structure, surface structure and Semantic Interpretation". See in particular pages 205 and 214.

They normally fall into four categories.<sup>1</sup>

- (I) Logical or semantic definitions, which can be found in an embryonic state in Frege (1892) and were later developed by logicians.
- (II) Pragmatic definitions (Keenan 1971).
- (III) Illocutionary definitions proposed by Ducrot ("Dire et ne pas dire", Paris 1972).
- (IV) Informationist definitions.

It is the last ones that have become the current issue in linguistic circles. They fall into two subcategories: a) definitions identifying the presupposition of an utterance with its topic i.e. what is being spoken about as opposed to what is being said about it, and b) definitions identifying presupposition with "known" or "given" information as opposed to "new" information. Definitions of the first type have been rejected by Ducrot who maintains that in sentences like: "I came with my brother" given as a reply to the question "who did you come with?" one cannot regard the presupposition "I have a brother" as the "topic" of the sentence.

Concerning the second type with the "known" "new" opposition we should point out that Halliday (1967, 1970) has shown that this opposition is not only relevant to the definition of presupposition but also to the description of intonation. Thus besides analyzing the relation between the place of tonic nucleus and the informational context of an utterance, Halliday has brought together three concepts which belong to the focus: the tonic nucleus, the new information

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1. I do not include here Willmore's definition of presupposition as a condition on the well-formedness of the sentence.

and the non-presupposed part of the utterance. These three concepts have been related to one another by Jackendoff (1972), in a definition which can give a clear account of presupposition in dialogues of the question-answer type. For Jackendoff the presupposition of a sentence is the information that is assumed by the speaker to be shared by him and the hearer, whereas the focus is the information that is assumed by the speaker not to be shared by him and the hearer. Thus in the question:

(6) Is it JOHN who writes poetry?

we presuppose that "someone writes poetry" (this is the knowledge shared by both speaker and hearer). What is not "known" (knowledge not shared by the speaker and hearer) is the actual person who writes poetry. Of the two answers that follow:

(7) No, it is PETER who writes poetry

(8) No, it is JOHN who writes short stories only (7) is possible since it provides "new" information whereas (8) is out of place owing to the disparity of presuppositions: we have presupposed that someone writes poetry.

G. Lakoff has criticized this definition (Lakoff 1971). He has offered counter examples like "The TALL girl left" in which TALL though bearing the nuclear stress does not carry "new" information since it is obvious that it is used in a situation that both speaker and addressee already know that there exists a tall girl. Lakoff observes that what actually constitutes "new" information is the fact that the girl who was presupposed to have left is "coreferential" with the girl who was supposed to be tall and consequently the semantic content of the focus is coreferentiality. The



fact that the lexical-semantic content of the surface structure constituent bearing the tonic nucleus is in no way affected by the semantic content of the focus proves that "the known-new" definition of presupposition is descriptively inadequate.

Research work on FSP is still being done and an attempt has been made to bring it within the framework of transformational grammar (P. Sgall, O. Dahl). The work of Mathesius, Firbas, Halliday and Daneš<sup>✓</sup> have paved the way; a great deal of work still remains to be done. The problems raised by H. Weil more than a hundred years ago have been dealt with but not completely solved. Perhaps that is why semantics, in spite of the vast amount of work carried out in that field, is still in an embryonic state. Before an explanatorily adequate theory of semantics has been formulated we first need to know more about the language as a means of communication, about how our thought is organized into utterances.

#### 1.6 Subjects and Objects with a Discourse Function

So far, I have been theorizing without saying much about the practical applications of the theory. This is what I'm going to do next.

It has long been recognized that syntax and semantics alone cannot give an adequately explanatory account of language as a whole. This is probably how the theory of pragmatics came into being. The trichotomy between syntax, semantics and pragmatics was first proposed by Morris, 1938; it was for some time forgotten and then brought back into philosophical discussion by Bar-Hillel in 1974. What is the aim of pragmatics? It simply deals with how language is used<sup>1</sup> as a tool

1. Cf. ... "an investigation made in the field of language study is assigned to Pragmatics, if reference is made in it, explicitly and essentially, to the user of a language, (Carnap, 1959:9)

for communication purposes; it is an account of how it is that the speakers can use language to convey messages. This is the place where the study of the thematic structure belongs.

The rest of this section will briefly mention some of the language functions which can be described as discourse functions rather than as syntactic ones.

Take as instance number one the case of personal Pronouns in Modern Greek: eyo, I; esi, you; aftos, he etc. I would claim that from a syntactic point of view, they are redundant as verb subjects since the person and number is copied onto the verb ending. Thus 'pezo' can only mean eyo pezo, I play, 'pezume' can only mean emis pezume, we play etc., etc.; and indeed this is how verbs are used in Greek sentences: with the personal pronouns omitted. This is not always the case, however. Sometimes the personal pronoun must be used as for instance when it is high-lighted in a contrastive sense:

- (9) eyo, den pezo xartja  
       I    not play cards  
       I don't play cards

The personal pronoun is optional only in a syntactic sense. From a semantico-pragmatic point of view it can be obligatory. In a situational context where a group of people are talking about gambling, and I want to point out that I, personally, am not the gambling type, I will obligatorily use the personal pronoun: the message in that case will be roughly: "as for me, I do not play cards".

This more or less proves that the subject in Modern

(and Classical) Greek does not have the special functions<sup>I</sup> that it has in English where, without its presence, we can hardly identify the person, since no verb endings, except for the 3rd person singular, exist. We can therefore, arrive at the conclusion that 'eyo' here functions as a theme rather than a subject.

But this is not its only function. Depending on stress and intonation, it can act as a focus of information, too.

Now, if 'eyo' is the theme, the rest that follows is usually new and 'eyo' serves as the starting point 'what I am talking about'. The focus of information in this case, is either 'pezo' or 'xartja' or both these elements; the sentence is divided in two phonological units with a comma intonation after 'eyo' and stresses on 'eyo', on the one hand, and either 'pezo' or 'xartja' on the other:

(IO) eyó, den pezo xartjá

In another context, however, where someone asks to find out who objects to a game of cards and I want to answer that I am the one who does, 'eyo' is again obligatory because it is the information needed, in other words it is the focus and as such it cannot be dispensed with. That is in a question like:

(II) pjos den pezi xartja?  
 who not plays cards  
 who doesn't play cards?

---

I. In English, for instance, it is needed, apart from marking persons, to form questions (inversion of the order subject verb, i.e. I am, am I?, I have, have I?, he works, does he work?, etc.). Actually, such functions can account for the existence of expletives in English (cf. it is raining, is it raining? vs: 'vrexí?' or 'piove?'). Modern Greek and Italian do not need subject-verb inversion to form the interrogative as English does, hence the absence of expletives in those languages.

The following answer does not comply with the rules of discourse:

(12) ~~#~~<sup>1</sup> ōen pezo xartja

The right answer here should be a sentence constituting one phonological unit with a heavy stress on 'eŷo':

(13) eŷo ōen pezo xartja

As you can see, 'eŷo' here constitutes the new information whereas the sentence 'ōen pezo xartja' is old, given information despite the fact that it is the end of the sentence (cf. English, where a possible answer would be one with a heavily-stressed I plus a negative "auxiliary", i.e. I don't).

A similar explanation can account for the cooccurrence of the two personal pronouns in objective case as witness:

(14) emena, me kseri olos o kozmos

Me            me knows all the world    Everybody knows me or:

Pers.Pron, Obj. Clitic.                    me, everybody knows

emena, is the unreduced objective case personal pronoun; me is the reduced personal pronoun, always cliticized to the verb. In a normal contextually independent utterance, made as a statement, 'me' would be enough and 'emena' rather redundant: but in a context where the as-for-me interpretation is to be rendered, 'emena' is again indispensable. Notice that in the second interpretation, that is, when 'emena' is the new information (as for instance as an answer to the question: pjon kseri olos o kozmos, who does everybody know?) the clitic pronoun is normally omitted:

(15) emena kseri olos o kozmos

---

1. This sign indicates that the sentence, though grammatically correct, is inappropriate in the given context.

From what we have seen so far, the occurrence of personal pronouns (where their job can be done by other means, verb endings, in the case of the Nominatives, and reduced clitic pronouns in the case of the Accusative/objective) does not appear to have a syntactic function. We are then in a position to claim that their presence is needed for other reasons, namely, they are there to contribute to the organization of the utterance and to perform a discourse function rather than a syntactic one.

### 1.7 Theme and Focus, a Distinction

I will repeat here two examples in order to draw a distinction between theme and focus as I see it. Compare

(10) eyó, óen pézo xartja

(13) eyó óen pezo xartja

In (10) 'eyo' is the theme of the sentence and has a contrastive function. Themes are usually old, known information, but they can also be new, introductory information. Sentence (10) for instance can be an answer to a question like "what about you? Do you play cards?" But this is not the only context. Suppose some people are talking about gambling in a room and I have overheard their subject of conversation. I might get into the room and utter sentence (10). The fact that I come out of the blue has nothing to do with the indisputable fact that I make a statement about 'eyo', I; 'eyo' is here "what 'I am talking about" and 'óen pezo xartja' is the statement made about 'eyo'. In the former case, when 'eyo' is already mentioned (what about you?) 'óen pezo xartja' is the focus. In the latter case, however, the sentence is all new information, and though it can be argued that

'*exo*' is still the theme, the whole sentence is the focus.

In the case of (13) things are a bit clearer. Here '*exo*' is what constitutes new unpredictable information; in other words '*exo*' is the focus of the sentence. Here is in fact the point I would disagree with Halliday who would describe '*exo*' as both "theme" (by virtue of its initial position) and focus, by virtue of its tonic prominence. The question is, is '*exo*' still "what I am talking about"? If it is, it is hard for us to draw a distinction between theme and focus. But if, on the other hand, "what I am talking about" is "who doesn't play cards?", then a distinction between theme and focus is a lot easier to draw.

My own distinction between theme and focus is taken from a comparison between the two readings of a sentence. Consider the following which I picked up from a newspaper:

(14) itan o iθopios pu me xtipise protos

it was the actor who hit me first

This is a statement made by a lorry driver who was involved in a brawl with a well-known Greek actor. The sentence has two readings, however: one on which the element '*iθopios*' is heavily stressed and another in which there is one contrastive stress on '*iθopios*' as well as another on the last element: '*protos*'. The former reading makes (14) a cleft sentence with '*iθopios*' constituting the focus of it. In the latter reading, (14) has a relative clause. This time '*o iθopios*' is "what I am talking about", and '*me xtipise protos*' is what is said about it; in other words '*o iθopios*' is the theme and not the focus this time.

The basic difference between the two readings is that on the cleft reading '*pu me xtipise protos*' is old, presupposed

information, whereas on the relative-clause reading it is not.

This is confirmed by two analyses: one made by Paul Schachter (1973) and another by Susumo Kuno (1975). Schachter has noticed the ambiguity involved in a sentence like:

(15) It's the woman<sup>(,)</sup> who cleans the house<sup>(,)</sup>

which is similar to my (14) having two readings, one cleft (intonation peak on woman) and one relative-clause reading (intonation peak on house). Kuno, on the other hand, claims that "In the literature for linguistic analysis, there is almost a complete lack of realization that a relative clause must be a statement about the head noun; namely, that only a constituent that qualifies as the theme of a clause can be relativized ", (Kuno: 301)

This agrees with my interpretation. I am claiming that in a cleft sentence, the heavily stressed element, that is, the one receiving the intonation peak, is the focus, whereas the pseudo-relative clause is presupposed information which can be said to constitute the theme. In other words, on the cleft reading of (15) we are talking about who cleans the house, whereas on the relative-clause reading we are talking about the woman (an answer to a question like who is that woman?) and cleans the house is what is said about her, this time.

Ross (1967) suggested that sentences like beans, I like may have derived from clefts, i.e. it's beans that I like. His hypothesis may be correct only in case beans alone bears a heavy stress, being the focus of the sentence. But if the sentence is pronounced with two stresses (two high pitches), one on beans and one on like, then beans is the theme (or "topic") about which a statement is made and on such a reading the sentence may be said to have derived from a relative

clause rather than from a cleft, i.e. beans is the food which I like, with normal intonation and without a heavy stress on beans (intonation peak on like).

#### 1.8 Word Order, stress and the Clitics

At the beginning of this chapter we said that Modern Greek has a free word order in the sense that 'anything can move anywhere'. It is high time we modified this statement by pointing out that this is done under certain conditions. At least three word orders, namely SOV, OVS and OSV require a contrastive stress on the object NP in order to make well-formed sentences.

Firbas has claimed that there is no disagreement between FSP (the thematic structure) and the syntactic structure. That is, FSP has other means apart from word order to organize the sentence according to its principles. We have said that the basic principle of FSP, something which more or less most linguists accept, is that, under normal circumstances, there is a tendency to reserve the final position of the sentence for the elements which are new information or are more important than the rest of the sentence from the point of view of communication, answering, for instance, a question or carrying an argument a step further, etc. Not surprisingly, in three out of the six word orders, that is, in SOV, OVS and OSV, where the element 'to fai' does not occupy final position, it is still marked out as the most important element from the communication viewpoint by virtue of its being heavily stressed. In other words, whether it is in the final position or not the element 'to fai' functions as focus. Sentence 1(b) with the VOS order is a marginal case: it can be either 'to fai' or 'i mitera' that constitutes



the focus of the sentence. We can, tentatively, then 44  
postulate the rule of word order in Modern Greek like this:

- |               |          |
|---------------|----------|
| (a) SVO       |          |
| (b) VOS (VOS) | (d) S'OV |
| (c) VSO       | (e) 'OVS |
|               | (f) 'OSV |

However, there is a factor which has the effect of defocussing objects, namely, a coreferential object clitic pronoun. Focus represents new, non-anaphoric information or communicatively important (and in some cases anaphoric) information. Clitics, on the other hand, are anaphoric markers. They refer to something given, known, already mentioned before. Thus, any element having a coreferential clitic is automatically stripped of its newness<sup>1</sup>, though not necessarily of its communicative importance, as we shall see. Consider sentence (1)a with a clitic:

(1)a i mitéra to etimázi to fai

The tonic stress to which 'to fai' is entitled under normal intonation by virtue of its being the last accented word cannot obtain; instead there will be stress either on 'mitera' or on 'etimazi', which means that the element 'to fai', as it stands at the final position now, with a coreferential clitic placed before the verb 'etimazi', can no longer function as a focus. The same thing will happen to (1)c with the SOV order

(1)c i mitéra to fai to etimázi

Without the clitic, the element 'to fai' was heavily stressed and constituted the focus, with the clitic it has been de-

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1. This can be done to objects only since we have no subject clitics in Modern Greek.

focussed. This means that the focus is either 'i mitera' or 'etimazi'.

(1)d and (1)f are problematic in that the first element may have a coreferential clitic without having been defocussed, as it happens in (1)c; that is, apart from a reading in which the element 'to fai' has been deprived of its focus status due to cliticization just as in (1)c, they have another reading on which 'to fai', despite the presence of a coreferential clitic, does not cease to be the focus and receives heavy stress:

(1)d' to fai' (to) etimazi i mitera

(1)f to fai' i mitera (to) etimazi

It must be pointed out that in (1)d' and f' the focus is not new information in the broad sense of the word. It is, however, contrastively anaphoric in the context: it's the food that mother prepares not the cake. Thus, in one sense this is information which is treated by the speaker as non-recoverable by the hearer. A possible question to which either of those sentences might be an answer is the following:

pjo apo ta  $\delta$ yo etimazi i mitera, to fai i to  $\chi$ liko?

which of the two is mother preparing, the food or  
the sweet?

Although 'to fai' has been mentioned here and is not new, it does express new information in the answers above (1)d, f' since the question shows that it is not known which of the two things is being prepared.

The famous example given by Lakoff is not irrelevant here; in the sentence the TALL girl left, the element TALL

though coreferential with the anaphoric element girl, has become new by being contrastively anaphoric in the context: the TALL girl is distinguished from the shorties and the medium heights as the one who left.

### 1.9 Ambiguity due to Free Word Order

So long as grammatical cases help, free word order does not create problems as far as the comprehensibility of a sentence is concerned. But, as I have said, in neutral gender nominative and accusative do not differ in form. In a sentence like

(1)a to a $\chi$ ori filise to koritsi

The boy kissed the girl

with normal intonation (intonation peak on koritsi) we normally assume that the 'a $\chi$ ori' boy is the ACTOR (subject) and the 'koritsi' is the PATIENT (object). However, if the same sentence is pronounced with heavy stress on the first element (a $\chi$ ori), all we know is that this element is the focus; we are no longer in a position to tell who the ACTOR and who the PATIENT is, and, of course, neither inflexions nor word order can help us to disambiguate (1)a so long as 'to a $\chi$ ori' is the focus. The sentence will be still ambiguous even if a clitic is attached to the verb filise:

(1)b to a $\chi$ ori to filise to koritsi

with the element to a $\chi$ ori heavily stressed again. This simply means that either 'to a $\chi$ ori' or 'to koritsi' is co-referential to the clitic; otherwise, that is if the heavily stressed element could not have a clitic, we would be able to identify it (the first and heavily stressed element) as the ACTOR-subject of the sentence: only objects

can have a clitic attached to them. Now consider another example in which the same sentence is disambiguated, why? We have two contrastive stresses now, one on 'aʝori' (theme and "topic", see section below) and another on 'koritsi' (focus).

(I)c to aʝori, to filise to koritsi

here we have two tonic groups separated by comma intonation. We can see that the last element in the sentence (to koritsi) is the ACTOR-subject: the clitic does not belong to it because only preposed stressed elements can have a clitic. Since the clitic doesn't belong to it then, it belongs to 'aʝori' which we can now identify as the topicalized-object of the sentence. Without a clitic and under normal intonation the sentence

(I)d to aʝori filise to koritsi

is restored to its normal SVO order which I have claimed to be basic in Modern Greek.

#### 1.10 "Topic" and Topicalization

I shall be using the concept of 'topic' in a very vague sense, but it is comforting to see that I am in good company.

What I mean by topic is a front-shifted object as in the case of (I)c ('aʝori'). In my analysis, topic is a theme or a focus which comes to the front for purposes of highlighting. It has been said that the final position has been reserved for the elements that are communicatively important. This, however, does not necessarily mean that we start with something that does not contribute anything to the act of communication. On the contrary, the beginning constitutes the basis of the message; it lays the foundations of discourse, so the significance of the 'starting point' should be given special attention; besides, it can never be over-

emphasized that people tend to notice the beginning and the end of anything that seems to them long to attend to or to remember en toto.

Li and Thomson (1976) have argued that topic is relevant to language typology and have attempted to divide languages into subject-prominent and topic-prominent ones. Notice that some of the characteristics attributed to topic prominent languages can be found in Modern Greek too, i.e. lack of expletives like it, there, do, etc. and rare use of Passive Voice.

I have more or less explained the lack of expletives in terms of word order freedom (in the case of extraposition) and I have also attributed it to the non-necessity of subject-verb inversion (in the case of interrogatives).

I. Warburton, on the other hand, has explained the rarity of Passive constructions in Modern Greek in terms of the FSP theory (Warburton, 1976). E. Keenan (1976) has observed that Passive Voice subjects are in fact topics. Indeed, passivization is not only a device to 'rhematize'<sup>1</sup> the verb or the agent but also a way of highlighting the object of the active voice by bringing it to the front. Modern Greek avoids Passive Voice by topicalizing the object of the active voice. Thus (1)a is more common than (1)b

(1)a ton pavlo, ton xtipise enas xafjes

the Acc.Paul Acc.him beat a fink

(1)b o pavlos xtipiθike apo ena xafje

Paul got beaten by a fink

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1. For "rhematize" read to make focus. Both the Pragmatics and Halliday have avoided to give a clear definition of the rheme 'proper' which I take it to be the focus.

In every language there is a tendency by speakers to avoid passive voice when this is possible. This applies to a great extent to Modern Greek, especially when the agent must be expressed on the 'surface' of the sentence.

Note that (1)a is pronounced with two high pitches and two stresses, one on 'pavlos' and another on 'xafjes' or in certain contexts one on 'xtipise'.

This is a case where the topic is the theme of the sentence. But if the same sentence is pronounced with only one high pitch and contrastive stress on 'pavlo' only, then 'ton pavlo' is the focus and all else is presupposed. This front-shifted focus I call it a 'topicalized focus'.

Here I must point out again that all this is tentative. I have used the term 'topic' by some kind of extension. Genuine topics hardly exist in any European language at present. One has to look in languages like Lisu or Chinese to find 'topics' with the real sense of the word. Such topics set the spatial, temporal or individual framework within which the main predication holds, as it can be seen from a sentence from Chinese:

nèi-xie shùmu shù-shēn dà

those trees tree-trunks big

As for those trees, the tree trunks are big

Sentences like this one show that topics display a kind of syntactic independence from the rest of the sentence. Modern Greek does not have topics of a similar kind. Instead, they are elements that take advantage of the freedom of word order which Modern Greek syntax can afford, thanks to a relatively rich system of inflexions, and move to the front of the sentence for the purpose of highlighting, contrast

or special emphasis (the case of topicalized focus).

The big question now is: can we, on the basis of the data presented so far, postulate a syntactic category by the name of 'topic'? I am extremely sceptical about it. Perhaps an answer will be found if another question is answered. Are concepts like theme or 'topic' properties of sentences or not? Those are questions I find particularly hard to answer. Perhaps the Prague School linguists have acted wisely in regarding the theme-rheme distinction independent of the grammatical organization of the sentence? As Jerry Morgan (1975) has pointed out, 'it is not sentences that have topics but speakers'. This is the reason why I believe that those concepts belong to the area of pragmatics, an area whose importance linguists are now beginning to realize, hopefully.

1. 11 Definiteness, Givenness and Topics

Those who maintain that the notion of "topic" may be as basic as that of subject for grammatical descriptions, preclude the possibility of indefinite "topics". There seems to be a connection between the concept of definiteness and that of givenness; but surely this is so on one interpretation of given only, i.e. where it means: "having a referent already known to the hearer", in which case it is synonymous with one meaning of definite. But there is another sense in which given can be used, where it means "something the hearer is currently thinking about" (not necessarily a particular object - it could be a class of things or people) and in that case an indefinite NP can be given just as easily as a definite one. Thus sentences like a tie I bought or "a dog I gave some food to" which Li-Thomson have starred are as good as any sentences in English. A point could be made against such an interpretation of the above examples, namely that, in cases like these, the indefinite topics are underlyingly definite for the simple reason that they are in fact partitives and the indefinite article a stands for one of the; but they mention no such thing in their analysis.

Gaberell Drachman (1970) deals with the "redoublement de complement" in Modern Greek which he straightforwardly reinterprets as "copying". Among the cases that he discusses is the relationship between copying and definiteness. He points out that cliticization (copying the object) requires that the latter be definite (Drachman: 20 )

(1)a o thanasis tu edose to sitari ti ftouxi

Thanasis gave the corn to the poor man



(1)b \*o thanasis tu edose to sitari kapju ftoxu

Thanasis gave the corn to some poor man

However (1)b does not deserve a star. Clitics can be coreferential to indefinite NPs and this, unfortunately, contradicts what we have said of clitics about their being anaphoric markers:

(2) mja γria, tin epjasan na klevi stin ayora

An old woman, her they caught stealing in the market

(3) ena diafiloti, ton espasan sto ksilo i astifilakes

A demonstrator, him they beat nastily the policemen.

One way of accounting for this topicalization (for in (2) and (3) 'mja γria' and 'ena diafiloti' are 'topics' since (a): they are what "I am talking about" (b): they are objects of the sentence moved to the front for purposes of highlighting) is to say that they occur in a context where strange behaviour of some women is being discussed, (2) or, we are talking about the troubles demonstrators are getting into nowadays, (3). So again, one can say that the hearer has a particular class of people in mind, in which case 'mja γria' and 'ena diafiloti', despite their indefiniteness, are 'topics', indirectly given in one sense, introductory in another. And to some extent this can justify the presence of the coreferential clitics as anaphoric markers, if the elements 'mja γria' and 'ena diafiloti' are underlyingly partitive with the meaning one of the old women and one of the demonstrators respectively.

In fact, this is normally the context in which such sentences occur; but (2) and (3) may also occur out of context as a brand new piece of information on their whole,

To this I have no answer to give; in fact, sentences which constitute new information on their whole are regarded by many linguists as being 'topicless' or 'themeless'.

Note that in English sentences like (2) or (3) would normally appear in the passive i.e. an old woman was caught stealing in the supermarket, a demonstrator was beaten nastily by the policemen. If we accept Keenan's thesis<sup>1</sup>, that passive voice subjects are 'topics' rather than subjects, then how can we preclude the possibility of indefinite topics (Li-Thomson)<sup>1</sup> given the fact that there is no rule whatsoever which forbids indefinite NPs from becoming Passive voice subjects?

The discussion on 'topics' is bound to end on an inconclusive note. Givenness and even definiteness sound somehow vague as concepts. And yet I feel I am on the right track in wanting to account for the relatively free word order of Modern Greek in terms of FSP. After all, some concepts concerning the thematic structure of the sentence are not so vague. Firstly, the fact that in non-emotive speech new or important information tends to occupy final position in the sentence is quite well-established. Secondly there is such a thing as focus which is realized by tonic stress (and high pitch) and which normally, though not always, is placed at the end of the sentence, again in non-emotive speech.

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1. Incidentally I am referring to articles written by Keenan and Li-Thompson which appear in the same volume (Subject and Topic, see references).

What is particularly hard to define are the concepts of theme and 'topic'. I would rather consider those two as semantico-pragmatic concepts depending on context and standing independently of the grammatical organization of the sentence; in this sense, theme need not be a constituent of a sentence. As evidence for the existence of such a thing as theme is the fact that personal pronouns are used with a special function which has nothing to do with syntax since the person is copied onto the verb endings.<sup>1</sup> Thus in 'eyo pezo' 'eyo' does not perform the syntactic function that I does in I play; and whereas 'pezo' alone without any subject pronoun makes a fully grammatical sentence, play does not.

Similarly, in the Greek sentence 'esena, eyo se ksero', I know you, 'esena' does not necessarily function as object since without it 'eyo se ksero' is perfect with the clitic se functioning as object.

1. Note that only the subject is obligatorily reflected in the verb morphology and only the subject NP is optional unlike the object which has to appear on the surface either as a full NP (noun or pronoun) or as a clitic pronoun, which I considered as having a status lower than a full NP since it cannot be relativized unlike the unreduced object personal pronoun which can; compare:

- i. to xarise se mas pu ayapai  
He gave it away to us that he loves
- ii. to xarise se mas tus opius ayapai  
He gave it away to us whom he loves
- iii. \*mas to xarise pu ayapai

'Topics' are characterized by Li and Thompson as elements which, in contrast to subjects, have no selectional restrictions and again in contrast to subjects, which take verbs as predicates, they take sentences instead. Note that as I said 'pezo' above can be regarded as a full sentence. However, Modern Greek "topics" do not appear to be syntactically independent of the rest of the sentence as "topics" in Chinese and Lisu do, for instance.

I thus consider themes and "topics" as a kind of 'discourse subjects' which constitute either a given element of the sentence or an introductory one but in either case they are "what I am talking about" and what is made a statement about and as such they tend to occupy initial position in the sentence.

The area of linguistics which deals with the thematic structure of the sentence seems to me to be one of the most promising ones for future research. But there are so many things which have not been clarified yet that one feels like walking in a field full of mines.

Yet, even those who are skeptical about the thematic structure as far as English is concerned, they do admit that "In a number of languages - for example Latin, Greek, Russian and Czech - the word order allowable appears to be extremely free; and in these languages there appears to be a systematic correspondence between linear order and thematic structure, left-most elements of the sentence tending to be assumed to be part of the background knowledge shared by the speaker and hearer and right-most elements tending to be as new elements of information". (Kempson: 194, 1977).

Given that Modern Greek has retained that word order freedom, one would not be too wrong, I should think, if one assumed that this correspondence between linear order and thematic structure works for this language as well. However, I must stress the fact that in emotive speech the initial position is occupied by the focus, that is, the new or important information but in this case the frontshifted element looks rather like the focus of a cleft sentence and indeed the whole sentence has the intonation of a cleft with the focus element receiving the intonation peak.

What can thematic structure contribute towards writing a grammar? If one can make any predictions one can say that it might be of great help to those who aim at producing grammars for the hearer rather than the neutral well-formedness kind of grammar that has been produced so far. Such grammars can certainly make some sense of the notions like theme or "topic" by interpreting them in terms of what is already in the hearer's model of the world; and they can find what is wrong with certain sentences which, an ordinary grammar dealing with sentence well-formedness cannot. There is nothing wrong, for instance, with the second of the two sentences cited below and yet a hearer may get the impression that the speaker is putting the cart before the horse.

o pavlos ekane ti γnorimia enos ekatomiriuxu

Paul made the acquaintance of a millionaire

# enas ekatomiriuxos ekane ti γnorimia tu pavlu

A millionaire made the acquaintance of Paul  
Intuitively we may feel that the speaker has made a wrong

start in the second sentence. He has failed to observe a 'rule' that has nothing to do with syntax but it has a lot to do with how language is used to convey messages; there seems

to be a pragmatic constraint which prevents the speaker of the second sentence from starting with something which is unknown to his hearer that is, something outside the hearer's model of the world. It would not be irrelevant to mention Malinowski's "phatic communion" according to which all linguistic tokens have deictic reference and they refer to factors narrowly specific to the time and place of the utterance or more widely to factors in the context of the situation in which the utterance occurs which are personal to the speaker and the hearer; and in four examples above, the proper noun 'pavlos' is a much more appropriate element to use as a "starting point" than the indefinite NP 'enas ekatomiriuxos' since proper nouns are normally used when the speaker wishes to refer to an individual already familiar to his hearer. Thus, the second sentence above is infelicitous in that the speaker disregards his hearer's model of the world and starts an utterance the wrong way ie. with an indefinite noun which has hardly any deictic reference for his hearer or himself or, as Kuno, 1975 might have put it, he 'empathizes' with the wrong person that is, someone unknown to him as well as his hearer.

Trying to account for the thematic structure of the sentence is a breakneck operation and, frankly speaking, I am not at all sure that I have emerged safe and sound out of it. Admittedly, nonsyntactic factors are by no means easy to formulate and that's why their inclusion in a linguistic analysis has been avoided. Yet, I find no other way to account for some linguistic phenomena where 'pure' syntax seems to me explanatorily inadequate. This chapter relies heavily on what was said

in the introduction of this thesis, namely that attempting to account for the grammaticality and acceptability of sentences in terms of an interaction between syntax, on the one hand, and nonsyntactic factors on the other, is not a criminal act, after all.

## 2. THE CLITICS

### 2.1 A Survey

Although the present chapter purports to mainly deal with the clitic object, it will also attempt to give a more general account of the other clitics as well.

Generally speaking, we can say that any unaccented word is cliticizable to its next to right or left neighbour. A. Zwicky (1977) lists the categories that "may or must" appear without accent in various languages:

- (a) auxiliaries in particular modals and the verbs of periphrastic constructions (verbs of being, becoming, possessing, doing, wanting, going and coming, causing, etc.);
- (b) personal pronouns, or redundant expressions of these, bearing marks of person, number and other agreement categories;
- (c) determiners;
- (d) "dummy" nouns like the English one in "this one";
- (e) prepositions and postpositions;
- (f) conjunctions and complementizers;
- (g) adverbial words, among them negatives, place and time adverbs, adverbs marking sentence type (interrogative, quotative, imperative etc.), emphatic adverbs (including items meaning 'even' and 'only'), epistemic adverbs (indicating degree of speaker's belief in a proposition), and narrative adverbs (indicating temporal or



logical sequence).

I shall give some examples from the six out of the seven types of the above: as far as I know, there are no dummy words in Modern Greek like the English 'do', 'there', 'it' or 'one'. Thus, type (d) should be excluded.

## 2.2 Examples of cliticizable words in Modern Greek

- (a) Θα: a modal particle deriving from a verb of wanting (Θelo). It expresses futurity, probability, possibility, obligation etc:  
 'Θa pao', I shall go. 'Θa ine kanenas trelos', he must be some kind of a nut.
- (b) Personal pronouns: 'yo', the reduced form of the Nominative of the personal pronoun 'ego', I, as 'kséro yo', how should I know? (see also clitic objects).
- (c) Determiners like 'o', Singular Nominative of the Definite Article (see inflectional categories).  
 'o andras', the man.
- (d) Prepositions. Some of them drop their final vowel, fuse with the Definite Article (Accusative) and cliticize to the word they govern: 'apo to proi', since this morning → apto proi.  
 For the preposition 'se' to, in, the fusion with the article is obligatory. 'meno se ksenodoxio', I stay in (a) hotel; 'meno sto ksenodoxio', I stay in the hotel. \*meno se to ksenodoxio.
- (e) Conjunctions. 'irΘa ja na kuventjasume', I came

in order that we might have a talk. Complementizers:  
 'Oelo na mino', I want to stay. Vowel reduction in  
 the host word can bring about a fusion with the clitic  
 receiving the accent. Thus, in the second examples  
 below, the clitic is accented after the verb has  
 dropped its initial vowel: na érxese → nárxese; na  
 íse → náse. However, since it is 'na' which is accented  
 now, we can say that it is the verb which is cliticized  
 to the complement in this case, rather than other way round.

- (f) Adverbial words: 'óen', not: 'óen vlepo', I don't see;  
 imperative words: 'as' in 'as eró mesa', let him (come)  
 in; emphatic adverbs meaning even: 'ke' in 'ke si boris  
 na to kanis afto', even you can do that!

### 2.3 Syntax of the Clitics

Clitics in Modern Greek can appear either as pro-  
 clitics (preceding their host) or enclitics (following  
 their host). They can move either to the head of the  
 constituent or to one of its margins.

to kalo pukamiso mu  
 the good shirt of me

to kalo mu pukamiso  
 the good of me shirt

In the first example, we have an enclitic to the head  
 noun; in the second, the enclitic has the adjective as  
 its host. Again, the Definite Article precedes an NP or  
 an S functioning as an NP:

i miter amu  
 the mother of me  
 to na ksipnas noris  
 the M.M. you-wake early  
 Waking up early  
 to oti iparxi anergia  
 the that there is unemployment

We shall be talking about the syntax again when we deal with the Object Clitics. I hasten to point out here, however, that there are cases of cliticization which allow of no syntactic justification. Consider the following two examples:

natos!

There he is!

naton! (cf Italian: ecco lo)

The first example looks all right: the personal-demonstrative pronoun 'aftos' has been cliticized to the deictic particle 'na' and afterwards it has been reduced to 'tos'. The phrase can also appear in its unreduced form:

na aftos!

But the unreduced form of the second example, that is \*na afton, is ungrammatical: 'na' requires nominative case ('aftos') not accusative ('afton') and yet 'naton' is as good as 'natos'.

And the same applies to the sort of question to which the above constitute natural answers:

pune tos? (reduced to pundos)

Where is he?

pune ton? (reduced to pundon)

Again only the first of the above is syntactically justified since only this sentence derives from the grammatical 'pu ine aftos' after subsequent cliticization of both ine and aftos to the interrogative place-adverb 'pu', where. But the second is the reduced form of an ungrammatical sentence, ie \* 'pu ine afton?', Where is him?

#### 2.4 Stress on Clitics

No word can receive an accent farther leftwards than the antepenultimate. But notice in the examples below that after clitic placement the accent is not moved one syllable rightwards (. \*eksíjise mu). Instead the initial accent is retained and an extra accent is placed on the syllable immediately preceding the clitic:

eksíjise (explain)

eksíjisé mu (explain to me)

As Zwicky has pointed out, stress placement works on groups as a whole. Yet, instead of having one stress on the antepenultimate of the one phonological word made up of the verb and its clitic, the placement of two stresses is preferred. This allows the attachment of a second clitic without breaking the rule of stressing the antepenultimate: 'eksíjiséto mu'. In general there is a tendency to respect the host's initial stress, so much so that the second stress sometimes will fall on a clitic:

'páre múto', 'páre tómú', take it for me; other times even if the host drops its initial accented vowel, the stress will remain in the same position.

(1) su to ípa

you it I told

(2) sá to ípa → sto ípa

(2)' su to ípa → sutópa ; sútópa → stópa

Similarly 'su to efera' I brought it to you, is reduced to 'sto éfera', su tófera, 'stófera'.

Elision depends on what P. Matthews (1974) calls the position of vowels "on a scale of phonological strength or dominance" (p.112). For instance, a back vowel (o or u) is stronger or more dominant than a front (e or i), hence to efera → tofera; to ipa → topa; tu efera → tufera; tu ipa → tupa. Vowel a, though dominates over the fronts: ta efera → tafera; ta ipa → tapa, it can't dominate over the backs: ta orise → \* tarise.

## 2.2 Object Clitics

### 2.2.1 Clitic objects as non-focal elements

Despite the comparatively free word order in Modern Greek, at least in the unmarked case, the object normally follows the verb:

(1) a o pavlos latrevi ti maria

(article) Paul adores (article) Maria

However, if we substitute a personal pronoun for the object maria, the sentence will look rather awkward out of context:

o pavlos latrevi aftin  
 (article) paul adores her

In fact, it can only occur in two contexts, (a): when 'aftin' is contrastively anaphoric with the meaning: it's her that Paul loves, not some other girl; (b): when there is an extralinguistic situation reference, in which case the personal pronoun, on account of its deictic status, functions as a demonstrative rather than as a personal: i.e. in a situation where the speaker points at Maria and says to his addressee: Paul loves her (Paul loves HER).

We have already discussed the notion of focus in the word order Chapter and have noticed that both the nominative case personal pronouns ('ego', I, 'esi', you, etc.) and their accusative case in its unreduced form ('emena', me, 'esena', you, 'afton', him, 'aftin', her,) are used to function either as themes or 'topics' or foci. The same applies to our example above: the presence of the unreduced personal pronoun has always to do with the thematic structure of the sentence and, as it has already been observed, in the word order chapter, the unreduced pronoun has a discourse function (contrast, emphasis etc.)

However, in a non-contrastive sentence the unreduced form of personal pronoun (accusative case) would not be used and the sentence above would rather be:

o pavlos tin latrevi  
 Paul her adores

'tin' is the clitic object corresponding to the pronoun 'aftin'.

## 2.2.2 Objective (Accusative) Case Personal Pronouns and Corresponding Clitics

1st person sing.: emena - me.      1st person pl. emas - mas

2nd person sing.: esena - se. 2nd person pl.: esas - sas  
 3rd person sing. Masc.: afton-ton. 3rd person pl.: aftus-tus  
 Fem: aftin-tin. N.: afto-to. Fem: aftes-tis. N.: afta-ta.

### 2.2.3 Genitive Case Personal Pronouns and corresponding Clitics

1st person Sing.: emu(obsolete)-mu 1st person Pl. emas-mas  
 2nd person Sing.: esu(obsolete)-su 2nd person Pl. esas-sas  
 3rd person Sing. Masc. aftu(aftunu)-tu 3rd person Pl. aftus-tus  
 Fem. aftis(aftinis)-tis. N. aftu Fem. aftes-tis. N. afta-ta

#### Some examples with clitics (Objective Case)

me pirakse

me he teased (annoyed) He teased me

se ksero

you I-know I know you

ton vlepume

Him we see We see him

tin ayapame

Her we-love We love her

to pistepse

It he-believed He believed it

o <sup>8</sup>alatas mas ksexase

the milkman us he-forgot The milkman has forgotten us

pjos sas malose?

Who you he-told off? Who has told you off?

o astifilaxas tis epjase

the policeman them he-caught The policeman (has)  
 caught them (Masc.)

o daskalos tis filise

the teacher them he-kissed the teacher kissed them (Fem.)

o taxiðromos ta efere

The postman them he-brought    The postman (has) brought  
them (Neut.)

### Genitive Case

o jatros mu xamoxelase

The doctor of me he smiled    The doctor smiled at me

o Qiroros su milai

The concierge of-you he-speaks    The concierge is  
speaking to you

tu ipa na pai

Of him I-told M.M go    I told him to go

Some examples of Genitive and Objective Clitics co-  
occurring in ditransitive verbs.

mu to iposxeΘike

Of me it he promised    He promised it to me

su ton exo sistise

Of you him I have introduced    I have introduced him  
to you.

tis ton edosan me to zori

Of her him they gave by force    They gave him to her by  
force.

### 2.3 Order of the Clitics

Whereas the unreduced pronoun can move anywhere i.e.,  
front: 'emena aftos kseri', me he knows; middle: 'aftos  
emena kseri'; back: 'aftos kseri emena', their corresponding  
clitics have a fixed position: they always precede the verb,  
except in positive Imperatives and in adverbial Participles  
in which case they follow it; Nonimp: 'me afise', he left me.  
Imp.: 'afise me', leave me ; adv. Part. 'afinontas me', leaving me.



Nonimperative: Clitic <sup>⌢</sup> Verb

Imperative: Verb <sup>⌢</sup> Clitic

Adv Participle: Verb <sup>⌢</sup> Clitic

However, if Imp is negative, the clitic is preposed again placed between the negative particle 'min' and the verb:

afise me

Leave me

mi me afisis

Not me leave      Don't leave me

mila mu

Speak of-me      Speak to me

mi mu milas

Not of-me speak      Don't speak to me

As far as the Imperative of Ditransitive verbs is concerned, we notice that whereas in Prohibitive-Negative the sequence is always: Negative Particle <sup>⌢</sup> Genitive Clitic <sup>⌢</sup> Objective Clitic, in positive Imperatives (where clitics are always postposed) either genitive or object can follow the verb.

min tu to óinis

Gen Acc

Not of him it give      Don't give it to him

\* min to tu óinis

Not it of-him give

óikse mu tin

Show of-me her

Show her to me

óiks<sup>1</sup>tin mu

Show her of-me

Show her to me

---

<sup>1</sup> Without the optional elision it is: 'óikse tin mu'; the second accent is added so that the word may comply with the rules of accentuation ie. no accent farther leftwards than the antepenultimate.

But as in English, so in Modern Greek the indirect object that appears in Genitive can be prepositional, and prepositional objects can never be cliticized:

ðiks tin se mena  
 Show her to me  
 \* ðiks tin se me  
 to edosa se sena  
 It I gave to you  
 \* to edosa se se

This rule applies whenever a personal pronoun is governed by a preposition, as for instance in comparisons:

ðen ise kaliteros apo afton  
 Not you are better from him  
 You are not better than him.  
 \* ðen ise kaliteros apo ton  
 \* ðen tou ise kaliteros apo

Notice that a 'tu' (reduced genitive of 'aftu') can occur in the above sentence as witness from the one following:

ðen ise kaliteros tu  
 Not you are better of-him You are not  
 his better

('tu' is here a possessive Genitive clitic pronoun).

Note again, that no cliticization is possible if the personal pronoun is modified by an adverb, as witness:

monon esena ayapo  
 Only you I-love  
 \*monon se ayapo

But you can have clitic if the adverb modifies the verb:

se ektimo      mono      I respect you only  
 You I respect only      I only respect you: ie.  
                                  I don't like you as well.

Genitive clitics, however, can also occur in front of intransitive verbs:

mu      ine      poli a<sub>y</sub>apitos  
 Of-me he is very dear  
 He is very dear to me.  
 tu paremine      pistos      mexri telus  
 Of-him he remained faithful till of-end  
 He remained faithful to him to the end.

Despite the fact that the clitic precedes the verb, it seems that it is semantically related to the adjectives-complements rather than to the intransitives. That clitics are dependent on the predicate adjective rather than on the copula is proved by the fact that other adjectives do not allow clitic attachment to the copula:

\* mu      ine      poli oreos  
 Of-me he is very handsome  
 \* tu paremine      oreos      mexri telus  
 Of-him he remained handsome till of-end

Notice that both 'a<sub>y</sub>apitos' and 'pistos' can take the unreduced personal pronoun in case of contrast or emphasis, whereas 'oreos' cannot:

ine a<sub>y</sub>apitos se mena monon / mono se mena  
 he is dear to me only  
 paremine      pistos se afton monon / mono se afton  
 He remained faithful to him only

\* ine poli oreos mono se mena<sup>1</sup>

He is very handsome only to me

\* paremine oreos mono se aftin

He remained handsome only to her

This genitive clitic goes with adjectives or nouns expressing attitude towards or immediate effect on. Thus whereas 'oreos' does not take any clitic 'simbaθis', likable, attractive, does:

mu ine poli simbaθis

Of-me he is very likable

I like him very much.

As in English so in Modern Greek the sentence can be rendered with a verb, ie. 'simbaθo', I like: 'ton simbaθo poli', I like him a lot. The two sentences are not exactly synonymous, though: the one with the clitic highlights the immediacy of personal feeling. (cf. Postal's term psych-movement).

<sup>1</sup> Sentences like 'ja mena, ine poli oreos' do occur with a topicalized PP and a meaning like; as for me (as far as my opinion is concerned), he is handsome. This always involves a contrast and no cliticization is here possible; in fact, you can neither delete (\* emena ine poli oreos) nor cliticize (\* mu ine poli oreos); this is so because in 'ja' PPs, deletion and cliticization occur only as long as they have the semantic function benefactive. (cf. Warburton, 1977).

vrike mia nifi ja mena

He found a bride for me

mu vrike mja nifi (cliticization)

emena, vrike mja nifi (Preposition  
deletion)

## 2.4 Clitics as logical subjects

P. Postal (1971) discusses among his Cross-over phenomena, what he calls "Psych-Movement". This is a rule which moves an NP from grammatical subject position into the predicate and causes it to be supplied with a preposition (usually: to). At the same time, this rule moves an NP from the predicate into the grammatical subject position:

I am amused (at) (with) by Harry

Harry is amusing to me

I loath Schwarz

Schwarz is loathsome to me

A similar phenomenon appears in Modern Greek with some difference:

(ego)  $\gamma$ norizo ton kirio

I-know the gentleman (Obj.)

o kirios mu ine  $\gamma$ nostos

The gentleman of me is known

The gentleman is known to me

(ego) andipa $\theta$ o tin popi

I dislike article Popi

i popi mu ine andipa $\theta$ is

article Popi of me is antipathetic

Popi is antipathetic to me

In both cases a NP (which in Modern Greek can be implied but not expressed) moves into the predicate; but whereas in English it goes straight to the end and is governed by a preposition, in Modern Greek it is reduced to an oblique case (objective or genitive) clitic which is always verb preposed. Clearly, this moved NP designates

the individual who experiences the psychological event, state, and so on, described by the sentence, and as far as I can see in that case we shall have to accept the existence of subject clitics in Modern Greek, even if we have to call them semantic (or logical) subject clitics. Consider for instance the difference between the above sentences and sentences like

su ime ev $\gamma$ nomon

Of you I am grateful (thankful)

I am grateful to you

se ev $\gamma$ nomono

You I thank

I thank you. I am thankful to you.

where the clitic in both cases, genitive and objective, refers to the object. The above example could not be dealt with in Postal's psych-movement, since no movement of the NP '**experiencer**' takes place: 'I thank you', 'I am thankful to you', though Lakoff (1970) could have used it to make his point that verbs and adjectives belong to the same category.

## 2.5 Clitics in Sensation Predicates

Clitics are also used with sensation predicates, i.e. verbs expressing pain. Those verbs can be either intransitive having parts of the body as their subjects or transitive with object clitic, expressing the animate that is in pain:

to afti mu ponai

The ear of me is aching

My ear is aching

me ponai to afti mu

Me is aching the ear of me

My ear is aching

tsuzi i miti mu

It smarts the nose of me

My nose is smarting

me tsuzi i miti mu

Me it smarts the nose of me

The genitives 'mu' are Possessive-Genitive clitics modifying the noun which here co-occur with a clitic (me) which is in the objective case. But it is also possible for the above sentences to occur without the possessive genitive, retaining the object clitic only.

to afti me ponai

i miti me tsuzi

or me ponai to afti

me tsuzi i miti.

The use of clitic is obligatory with verbs which are used metaphorically to express pain or bodily disturbance.

i palami mu me troi

The palm of me me eats

My palm is itching

\* i palami mu troi

The palm of me eats

to ōondi mu me peŋeni

the tooth of me me dies

I'm in agonies with my tooth

\* to ōondi mu peŋeni

the tooth of me dies

Cf. the English: Those shoes are killing me

? Those shoes are killing

Of all the above verbs only the first one 'ponao',  
I ache, I am in pain, can be used intransitively followed  
 by a locative expressing the part of the body that is in pain:

ponao sto afti

I-ache on the ear

\* tsuzo sti miti

I-smart on the nose

\* troo sti palami

I-eat on the palm

I have an itch on the palm

\* peθeno sto óondi

I-die on the tooth

My tooth is killing me

I am in agonies with my tooth

though you can say: 'peθeno apotus ponus', I am dying of pain,  
 the pains are killing me.

## 2.6 Clitics in Passives

Passives in English can take as their subjects the  
 indirect (personal) object of the corresponding Actives:

Active: My colleagues gave me a present

Passive: I was given a present by my colleagues.

A similar passivization in Modern Greek would result  
 in an ungrammatical sentence: \* (ego) edóθika ena dóro  
 apo tus sinadelfus mu. But Modern Greek can make up for

the lack of this sort of passive construction by cliticizing

11. Warburton has pointed out that this does not happen with  
 verbs that take two accusative case objects (cf. óioasko ta  
 peója anglika, I teach the children English and 'ta peója  
 óioaskonde anglika apo mena. However, verbs with an IO in the  
 genitive can also have this object as their subject when



the indirect object--,

mu doike ena doro apo tus sinadelfus mu

Similarly: tu apenemi(i)(ke) argirun metalion

Of him it was awarded silver medal

He was awarded a silver medal.

mas gnostopii(i)ke oti tha doune afkisis

Of us it was notified that will be given

(salary) rises

We were notified that salary rises would be  
given.

## 2.7 Clitics with Impersonal expressions

In English there is a category of verbs with the structure: it + V (+ Preposition) + NP like: it occurred to me , it hit me , it concerns me , 'it strikes me , it came to me etc. which are normally followed by a that clause:

It occurred to me that I had no money

It hit me that he was a fake

It concerns him that you feel homesick

It strikes me that you are a nut

It came to me that he was loaded

Similar expressions occur in Greek with a genitive clitic preceding the impersonal expression; on the other hand, there are synonymous non-impersonal expressions with an explicit or implicit grammatical subject which has the same semantic function as the clitic of the impersonal

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passivized: 'Janisa tu jani kati', I lent something to John and 'o janis Janistike kati apo mena'. But note that this happens when there is a semantic motivation: i.e. when the role of the passive voice subject remains "active" semantically (notice the synonymity of 'didasko' and 'maθeno', teach, learn and the use of two different verbs in English: I lend and I borrow; for the latter, Mod Greek uses a passive to render it, i.e. 'Janizome'.).

expression:

mu irΘe na ton pnikso

Of me it came subjunctive marker him strangle

I felt like strangling him

(eχo) enjosa tin epiΘimia na ton pnikso

I felt the desire subj.marker him strangle  
den su kopse na aχorasis liyo ouzo

Not of you it-cut ~~su~~ <sup>MM</sup> buy some ouzo

Didn't it occur to you to buy some ouzo?

den skeftikes (esi) na aχorasis liyo ouzo

not thought (you) <sup>MM</sup> buy some ouzo.

(with the verb 'skeftikes' used with the same  
meaning as that of it occurred to you)

mu xriazete enas kalo sindrofos

Of me it needs a good companion

I need a good companion

(eχo) xriazome enan kalo sindrofo

I need a good companion.

A very commonly used colloquial-to-slang verb 'χustaro',  
I fancy, has also a genitive clitic + V type provided, of  
course, that there is no coreferentiality between clitic  
pronoun on the one hand, and personal pronoun or verb ending  
which has copied the personal pronoun, on the other. Thus,  
as far as 'mu' is concerned, it can take all persons of  
both singular and plural except the first:

sentences like: \* mu χustaro

Of me I fancy

or \* mu χustarume

Of me we fancy

are ungrammatical. The same applies to 'su' which cannot

precede 2nd person of either singular or plural. Now consider the following two sentences:

to koritsi ton yustari

The girl him fancies

The girl fancies him

to koritsi tu yustari

The girl of him he-fancies

He fancies the girl.

The first clitic in the objective case functions as object with the girl as subject, the second clitic in the genitive case functions as the 'logical subject'. If we abandon the genitive clitic + V yustaro structure and use the verb on its own, the sentence has its exact equivalent:

aftos yustari to koritsi

He fancies the girl

that is, 'aftos' (3rd person nominative of the unreduced personal pronoun) has taken the place of the genitive clitic.

This obviously leads to ambiguity in plural where there is morphological identity between Genitive and Objective.

Thus the sentence: to koritsia mas yustarun

the girls us they fancy

can either mean 'we fancy the girls' or 'the girls fancy us', depending on whether 'mas' is the logical subject or the object of the verb 'yustarun'. One way to disambiguate such a sentence is to substitute the unreduced form of personal pronoun for the clitic and put a contrastive stress on 'emas' :

ta koritsia yustarun emas

'The girls fancy us

ta koritsia yustarun se mas

'The girls fancy to us (ie. The girls are

fancied by us)

We fancy the girls.

The unreduced form of the logical subject will normally be preceded by a preposition, ie, it is the genitive clitic which derives from a P.P and it is the genitive clitic the one which has the function of the logical object. What seems to be the case here is that the genitive clitic obligatorily accompanies the verb to function as the logical subject of the sentence, since the verb endings do not copy the person and number of the subject but those of the (logical) object (cf. *mu* [1st pers.] *γustari* [3rd pers.]<sup>1</sup> to *koritsi*).

## 2.8 Ethical Dative Clitics

Finally, the genitive clitic can express the ethical and charistic Datives of Classical Greek, that is, what is normally rendered with a PP (for + NP) in English:

*Θα su plekso ena pullover*

*M.M of you knit a pullover*

*I will knit a pullover for you*

the emphatic form '*ja sena*' (for you) replacing '*su*'. The only difference is that the prepositional phrase has a greater freedom of movement in Modern Greek and it can be placed between the verb and the direct object, which is not quite possible in English.

*Θα plekso ja sena ena pullover*

*I will knit for you a pullover*

There are some purely 'emotive' uses of the genitive clitics for which one can hardly find their exact equivalent in English.

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<sup>1</sup> This is so because there are two forms of the same verb: one having '*exo*' as its subject e.g. '*exo γustaro*' and another

The first person singular 'mu' of me for instance can be used to express concern, tenderness, friendly disposition etc. on the part of the speaker. A mother, for example, can say to her son: 'prosexe mi mu kriosis', take care you don't catch a cold (for me). By placing the first person genitive clitic, she shows her motherly concern about her son's health. Similarly, a close friend, instead of asking you 'ti kanis', what are you doing, (meaning: how are you?) he puts a clitic in front of the verb to show that he cares for you, the question thus becoming 'ti mu kanis'. Notice, however, that this 'mu' of 'concern' tends to be reduced to a polite formula and therefore lose its primary meaning of genuine feeling for a person. It is now being used by many speakers when they address someone with whom they are least familiar, judging by the fact that they call him 'Mister' and they use the plural of politeness.

ti mu kanete kirie papadopoulos

What of me you do (plural) Mr Papadopoulos

How are you, Mr Papadopoulos?

This use of 'mu' can be extended to a third person, normally a relative or friend of the addressee with whom the speaker is acquainted:

ti mu kani o ayapitos adelfos sas

How is your dear brother (to me)?

It is not possible to use the unreduced form to render this meaning of the speaker's personal concern. Thus,

ti mu kanete kirie pap. ~~≠~~ ti kanete(se) emena kirie pap.

Apart from the 'mu' of concern, there is also a 'mu' having 'mu' as its (logical) subject e.g. 'mu yustari.

of disapproval whereby the speaker expresses anger, indignation, impatience etc.

mu ksaploθikes eki ke ōen erxese ōo na voiθises

Of me you lay there and not come here subj.

marker you-help

You're just lying there and you don't come here to help.

mu ġirizi oli mera kjerxete to vradī mono ja fai

Of me he wanders all day and come the evening only for dinner.

He is loafing around all day and comes in the evening just to eat only.

Sometimes the first person plural also occurs but it usually expresses a sort of milder disapproval than 'mu'. Notice that though the speaker uses plural he doesn't necessarily mean that there are others sharing his feelings.

mas kami ton aniksero

to us he-does the ignorant

He pretends he doesn't know! (As if he didn't know!)

mas eġine vuleftis, vlepīs, ke ōe kataθexete na mas milisi tora

Of us he became M.P., you see, and not condescend subj.

marker us speak now.

He became an M.P., you see, and he doesn't condescend to speak to us now.

'su', the second person singular genitive clitic, is used, on the other hand, to express a gamut of feeling from admiration to total disapproval. The sentence:

su ine enas aftos

Of you he-is one he

can mean: He is very clever, or He is very cunning.

Again: su exi ena tupe

Of you he has a nerve

He is so cheeky

Quite often, this 'su' may express admiration or indignation:

ti su ine afta ta peo<sup>6</sup>ja

What of you are these the children

Oh, those children!

ti su ine afti i eforiaki

What of you are these the tax-collectors

Oh, these tax-collectors (horrible, aren't they?)

## 2.9 Some properties of the clitics

The most striking thing about clitics is that they are the most disciplined elements as far as word order is concerned, occupying the firmest position in the sentence. Nothing can go in between a clitic and a verb unless it is another clitic. Could we regard them as sisters to the verb? The point is that they do not behave like ordinary NPs.<sup>1</sup> In the first place clitics cannot exist independently of the verb as other NPs can:

pjon kseris?

Whom (do) you know?

afton, aftin but not: \*ton, \*tin

him, her

Any NP can take a preposition, none of the clitics can:

se mena se sena se afton se aftin

to me to you to him to her

\*se me \* se se \*se ton : \*se tin

<sup>1</sup> Most significantly, they are not accessible to relativization. (see page 54fn).

Clitics can never be contrastively stressed:

aftus ayapo but not \* tus ayapo

Them I love

It's them that I love

NPs can be conjoined and disjoined whereas clitics cannot

afton ke sena Oelo but not ton ke se Oelo

Him and you I want

emena i aftin protimas.<sup>1</sup> but not \* me i tin protimas

Me or her you-prefer

Do you prefer me or her?

But they can occur in conjoined or disjoined sentences:

tin Oelo ke me Oeli

Her I-want and me she-wants

I want her and she wants me

ute tin Oelo ute me Oeli

Neither her I want nor me she wants

Neither do I want her, nor does she me.

In a complex sentence whose matrix and embedded clause have the same object, the clitic is optional in the matrix but obligatory in the embedded:

(ton) iða	na	ton Oernune
Clit		Clit
Him I saw	MM	him they beat

I saw him being beaten by them

but not: \*ton iða na Oernune.

On the other hand, with a heavily stressed personal pronoun in place of the clitic it is the other way round.

afton iða na (ton) Oernune

But if a clitic (coreferential to the focus 'afton') is attached to the matrix verb, then the clitic in the



embedded sentence verb is obligatory, as witness:

afton ton iða na ton ðernune

\* afton ton iða na ðernune

So far we have dealt with ditransitive verb clitics of the Gen. Acc. sequence; the same sequence, however, can occur in the case of V  $\overbrace{\text{Obj}}$   $\overbrace{\text{Comp.}}$  where Comp. is an [NP]

ipa tu jani na erði amesos

I told of John M.M. comes at once

I told John to come at once.

tu to ipa (na erði amesos)

But this cliticization is restricted to verbs whose object is in the Genitive Case; in this way the strict rule of proclitics: Gen.Cl.  $\overbrace{\text{Acc.Cl.}}$  is observed:

anagasa ton jani na erði amesos

I forced John to come at once

\* tu to anagasa (na erði amesos)

Similarly: epevala tu jani na erði amesos

I-ordered of John to come at once

tu to epevala na erði amesos

but ekana to jani na erði amesos

I made John come at once

\* tu to ekana na erði amesos

## 2.6 The syntax of the clitic objects

As far as the syntax relations of the clitics to the rest of the sentence are concerned, I have not so far thrown any light due to the fact that this is a question I find particularly hard to answer. Do clitics need to be sisters to the verbs to which they are attached? Some of

the examples I have given, including those of the so-called ethical dative, show that the clitic need not be dependent on the verb.

For instance, can we say that the clitic belongs to the copular verb in sentences like the following?

i fifika mu ine apokrustiki

Fifika of me she is repulsive

Fifika is repulsive to me

Clearly, it is the predicate adjective that the objective clitic depends on rather than the copular 'ine'.

In a revealing and most interesting article I Warburton (1977) discusses the object clitics in Modern Greek. Her arguments have been formulated within the transformational-generative model. However, her analysis, as far as I know, makes some wrong predictions. In the first place her conclusion that clitic insertion is restricted to the NPs under a node V, ie. only to object NPs, is rather arbitrary. For instance, in the example below a PP with an adverbial function can cliticize though it can hardly be described as an object NP

i prosklisi irθe se mas to proi

The invitation came to us this morning

i prosklise mas irθe to proi

The clitic here can be regarded as a sort of 'notional object' in a semantic sense.

Another verb which presents difficulties as far as cliticization is concerned is 'boro', can, be able to. This verb takes a 'na' complement but this complement is not an NP in the sense that the complement of a verb like 'θelo' is. Compare the following pair of sentences:

- (a)    Θelo        na se voiΘiso  
          I want to(MM)help you
- (b)    boro       na se voiΘiso  
          I can (MM) help you

The complement in (a) behaves like an ordinary NP: it can be topicalized, cliticized, and it can even take the definite article 'to' as witness:

to       na se voiΘiso, to Θelo poli  
Articl. MM you I help it I want a lot  
I want it very much to help you

But the 'na' complement of 'boro' does not behave in a similar way:

\* to na se voiΘiso to boro

Yet, 'boro' can occur with the clitic, though it cannot occur with a full NP unless there is also a clitic coreferential to this NP:

to boro, an voiΘisis ke si  
it I can if you help and you  
I can do it, if you help, too

\* boro afto an voiΘisis ke si  
ola ta borume, an imaste enomeni  
all them we can if we are united  
we can do everything, if we are united

\* ola borume an imaste enomeni

Even more embarrassing for those restricting cliticization to object NPs are examples like: 'pune ton', where is him and 'pote mu', never of me. The former is an alternative of 'pune tos', which derives from 'pu ine aftos'; however we cannot derive 'pune ton' from \* 'pune afton' which is ungrammatical because the copula cannot have an accusative case subject.

Again, how can one justify a genitive clitic attached to the adverb 'pote', never: 'pote mu', 'pote su', 'pote tu', etc., when no other adverb in Mod. Greek can actually become the

"host" of a clitic: \* 'pandote tu' always of him, \* 'sixna mas',  
often of us; the idea that 'mu' is here a possessive clitic,  
 which is intuitively satisfying, does not get much support  
 due to the fact that this clitic is normally attached to a  
 noun or a noun-function adjective, though in my speech at  
 least it cannot be attached to a noun-function participle:

o filos mu

the friend of me

kaliteros mu

better of me

my better

? i epivlepondes mas

the supervising us

What is even stranger is that such a clitic can be co-  
 referential with either the subject or the object of a  
 verb.<sup>1</sup>

den iðe pote tu jatro

Not he saw never of his doctor

He's never seen a doctor

---

1

This clitic, like the other cases of 'ethical Datives' is a 'speaker oriented element', as Warburton, 1978, has observed. Its use shows that the speaker puts extra emphasis on the negation expressed by 'pote' never. Notice that in questions the use of clitic with 'pote', ever, normally, though not always, implies that the speaker considers it quite unlikely that his question will be answered in the affirmative, ie. cf.

efaɣes pote xavjari

Did you ever eat caviar?

efaɣes pote su xavjari

What is really perplexing is the fact no other adverb can have the same kind of emphasis, ie. \* panda mu pao sto parisi  
 always cl. I go to Paris

óen ton idé pote tu jatros

Not him saw never of him a doctor

No doctor has ever seen him.

Before I end this discussion on the syntax of the clitics I would like to comment on Dr Warburton's 'restrictions' in connection with the clitics' distributional characteristics. According to her analysis there exist four restrictions:

- (i) Only one genitive case clitic is allowed for each verb.
- (ii) The genitive clitic must precede the accusative clitic.
- (iii) Although first and second person pronouns can appear as direct and indirect objects, only one clitic of either first or second person is possible.
- (iv) If there are two clitics and one of them is personal (first or second person), then the only possible sequence is [+person], [-person]<sup>1</sup>

Restriction (i) is correct, but (ii) is not as far as Imperative and adverbial participles are concerned:

fere      mu to      Gen.  $\frown$  Acc.

Bring of me it

fere      to mu      Acc.  $\frown$  Gen.

Bring it of me

In fact, as far as fusion is concerned, there are phonological restrictions which apply to the Gen.  $\frown$  Acc. order, though they do not apply to the Acc.  $\frown$  Gen..

Compare:              stíle mú to

Send of me it

*I ] apologize to Dr Warburton for having misunderstood her to mean [+human] by [+person] and [-human] by [-person]. There still remains, however, the recalcitrant case of 'mu se' (see footnote, page 90) where her restriction does not apply.*

Send it to me

stíle tó mu

\* stíl mu to

stíl to mu

The same applies to participles where either order is possible:

δινοντας tu to Gen. <sup>Acc.</sup>

giving of him it

δινοντας to tu Acc. <sup>Gen.</sup>

giving it of him

Again, whereas restriction (iii) is correct, (iv), if I understand it correctly, does not account for the grammaticality of sentences like the following where +Personal <sup>Personal</sup> is perfect.

mu eδose aftón

Of-me he-gave him

He gave me him

mu ton eδose

Of-me him he-gave

su sistise aftín

Of-you he-introduced her

He introduced her to you

su tin sistise

tis parusiasan aftón ja γambro

Of-her they-presented him for a bridegroom

They introduced him to her as an eligible bachelor

tis ton parusiasan ja γambro.

So, the restriction appears to be one on personal number combinations rather; the only permissible sequences are, 1st, 2nd, 3rd (Sg or Pl) always followed by 3rd and 1st Sg followed by 2nd Sg ( see footnote on next page)

* mu me	* I I
mu se <sup>l</sup>	I II
mu ton (tin, to)	I III
* su me	* II I
* su se	* II II
su ton (tin, to)	II III
* tu me	* III I
* tu se	* III II
tu ton (tin, to)	III III

Thus the following sequences of two personal clitics are possible: I II, I III, II III, III III (Singular or Plural or Mixed, ie. mas ton, sas ton, tus ton.)

Reverting to the question of the syntax of the clitics, I tend to believe that their position is determined by a special kind of rule, which can relate non-sisters and which, I think, belongs in the morphological component rather than in the syntax; and this, like the rest of morphology, takes absolute priority over any relevant syntactic rules. The special status of clitics (they stand in between morphemes and full words) allows morphology to look after them. Couldn't we, for instance, treat the fusion of su to efera into 'stofera' as #stofera#? The same verb with unreduced personal pronouns can allow any permutation of the elements:

esena afto efera

You it I brought

afto esena efera

It you I brought

This sequence seems to be correct with the 'mu' expressing disapproval e.g. 'mu se dosane esena tonaxristo ja xambro' they married me to you, the good-for-nothing.

afto efera esena  
 It I-brought you  
 esena efera afto  
 You I-brought it  
 efera esena afto  
 I-brought you it  
 efera afto esena  
 I-brought it you

No such permutation is allowed with the clitics, fused or not fused.

Perhaps the most embarrassing situation arises in the special case of an endoclitical clitic i.e. when the clitic forces itself into the word. I have a very recent example in mind from the "Monday Theatre" on the Greek TV<sup>1</sup>, 'éxe **múte**, embistosini', trust me. The clitic 'mu', me, appears in between the ultimate and penultimate syllable of the verb 'exete', i.e. exe-mú-te.

This chapter is bound to end on an inconclusive note as far as the syntax of the object clitics is concerned. I have made a tentative suggestion that morphology might be as good a place for the clitics as anything.

It is of fundamental importance for a linguistic theory that ways be found to move certain phenomena out of syntax and into morphology. Unfortunately I am not a good theorist to develop this vague idea into something more concrete.

Some of the data I have offered in this chapter, however, does suggest that syntax has, perhaps, undertaken too much and that it should be relieved of a certain part of its duty. Couldn't clitics be a case where such a suggestion might apply?

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<sup>1</sup> 19 June, 1978.



### 3. COMPLEMENTATION

#### 3.1. The Complementizers

Modern Greek complement clauses no doubt deserve a separate thesis. The present chapter will therefore be rather sketchy since it constitutes only a part of the whole thesis. We shall be dealing with the following complementizers: (a) 'na', which is also a Mood marker; (b) 'oti' (pos) which corresponds to the English complementizer 'that'; (c) 'pu', 'that' used mainly with Emotive Factive predicates (see sections on "Factives" and particularly on "Assertives" where all predicates are classified according to their syntactic and semantic properties)

##### 3.1.1. Some Facts

Modern Greek has lost its infinitive construction, which English still retains; it has never had gerundive forms like the English -ing; so, we shall mainly deal with what Chomsky (1973) has called 'tensed sentences'.<sup>1</sup> Since person is morphologically copied onto the endings of the verb, it is hardly plausible to talk of Equi NP deletion, that is, there is no reason to postulate an NP subject since NP subjects are optional, as I have shown in the chapter on Word Order. Thus the English sentence: 'I want to come' is translated into Modern Greek as 'Θelo na erθo', where both the matrix and the complement verb show with their identical endings -o that they both have as their subject the 1st person sing. personal pronoun.

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I The only exception being the non-finite adverbial participle when used as a complement of some 'emotive' predicates. In such cases the complement-participle is a verb of perception, knowing, learning:

xarika vlepondas se  
I was glad seeing you

On the other hand, in the case of a complement clause with a non-split subject, such as the English

I want you to come

its Greek equivalent will be

Θelo na erθis

where the difference of verb endings between matrix and complement verbs shows that we have different subjects: 1st person in the matrix and 2nd (here singular) in the complement. 'na' is the Modern Greek complementizer corresponding to the English 'to'; it is here followed by what traditional grammars call the Subjunctive Mood. Whether there is a Subjunctive in Modern Greek is, however, debatable. As A. Martinet has pointed out, "We could not speak of a subjunctive in a language which does not possess subjunctive forms that are distinct from those of the indicative such as 'je sache' and 'je sais'". (A. Martinet, 1960 p.45 English translation). Modern Greek does not seem to have such a distinction and the endings -ω, -εις, -ει, -ουπε, -ετε, -ου can occur in either Mood. What distinguishes Indicative from Subjunctive are the Mood Markers (MM) 'na', 'Θa' and 'as' which cliticize to the verb that follows.

Actually, as far as 'na' is concerned, it can be used with either Subjunctive Aorist or Indicative Aorist or Subjunctive Perfect or Past Perfect Indicative. Notice that the Aorist Indicative and the Present Perfect Subjunctive are at least in one sense synonymous and can be used indiscriminately:

elpizo na eftase soos ke avlavis (Ind)

I hope MM he-reached safe and sound

I hope that he arrived safe and sound

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elpizo na exi ftasi soos ke avlavis (Subj)

1.-hope MM has reached safe and sound  
but since the Perfect Subjunctive and the 'na'+Aorist Indicative are used interchangeably and since 'na' + Subjunctive can have the same function as 'na' + Indicative, is it really necessary to postulate a Subjunctive Mood? However, I should think that for our description it is convenient to postulate a periphrastic subjunctive made up of MM (Mood Marker) + Indicative, which might enable us to cover also case like 'elpizo na eftase'.

### 3.2 The for-phrase in Modern Greek

Many linguists have reacted against the spuriousness of the for-to complementation and *it* has recently been suggested that there has never been a for-to complementizer at all. Whether this is right or wrong is a matter that does not concern our analysis here, as we are dealing with a language that has no infinitive constructions.<sup>1</sup> However, a for-phrase does appear in Modern Greek where the matrix verb is an impersonal expression. Kimball (1971) has pointed out the frequent ambiguity of for-phrases as between "datives on adjectives" and as part of an embedded complement:

(1) It is good for the economy for everyone to have a job.  
In the Greek gloss of this sentence, the 'for' of the Dative on adjective must stay where it is, but the 'for' of the

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<sup>1</sup> In fact, as has been pointed out by Chomsky, the 'for to' constructions derive from Subjunctives, ie. (i)  
from (ii):

- i it is essential for him to do that
- ii it is essential that he do that

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embedded complement is unnecessary, as instead of a 'for to' clause we have a subordinate "tensed" clause.

(2) ine kalo ja tin ekonomia na exi o kaθenas mja sulja

It-is good for the economy MM has article everybody  
a job

In English there is an ambiguity in the sentence:

(3) It is good for John to stay here

as to whether it is good for John only:

(3)a It is good for John [to stay here]

or to whether it is good in some absolute, generic sense:

(3)b It is good [for John to stay here]

In Modern Greek, on the other hand, only the first reading is possible:

(3)c ine kalo ja to jani na mini edo

It-is good for article John MM stay Aor.here

The generic sense requires a construction made up of copula+ Adjective with a 'na' complement in which 'Janis' is the nominative case subject:

(3)d ine kalo na mini o janis edo

It-is good MM stays article John here

### 3.3 The Gerundive and Modern Greek

From the semantic point of view there is a relation between factivity and gerundives in English. It was Jespersen (1940) who first noticed that the infinitive seems to be more appropriate than the gerund to denote the imaginative (unreal). This was taken up by D. Bolinger (1968) who observed that there is a properly semantic contrast between nominalizations carried by -ing and those carried by the infinitive. This contrast is, according to him, one between two aspects: reification vs hypothesis

or potentiality. At about the same time the Kiparskys wrote what has now become one of the classics in the literature of linguistics: their article entitled 'Fact'. There, they proposed that infinitival nominalizations derive from the sentential objects of non-factive predicates, and that gerundive nominalizations derive from the sentential objects of factive predicates: in other words, that the surface contrast between infinitivals and gerundives can be explained in terms of factivity.

In Modern Greek the 'Subjunctive' Mood seems to have taken over all the functions of the English and Greek infinitival construction. Like the infinitive, it can denote the unreal or the hypothetical. Like the infinitive in English<sup>1</sup>, the Modern Greek Subjunctive does not normally express a true proposition. Compare:

lizmonisa na ton sinandiso (Aorist-Subj)

I forgot . MM : him I meet

I forgot to meet him

with: lizmonisa pos(oti) ton sinandisa (Aorist-Ind)

I forgot that him I met

I forgot that I had met him. I forgot meeting him.

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1. Apologies should be offered here for this "contrastive" approach which sounds bad in the sense that it hunts for categories in one language which will be capable of fitting into categories of another language. I will try to avoid this to the best of my ability as I am aware that it does harm to the accuracy of a description.

Only the second sentence allows the noun 'to, γεγονος' the fact, with a sentential complement consisting of the 'oti' clause, to replace the simple oti-clause.

\* lizmonisa to γεγονος na ton sinandiso

I forgot the fact to meet him

lizmonisa to γεγονος oti ton sinandisa

I forgot the fact that I met him

The lack of gerundives in Modern Greek is compensated for by the use of 'article' sentences 'to oti ine arostos' the that he is sick, or by the use of a category of nouns expressing action, activity and (possibly) state, which are normally formed from the stem of the Perfective + an -i(s) ending and which correspond to the nouns that have -tion, -al, -ment and -ing endings in English:

Verb		Nominal	
epixiro	attempt, operate	epixirisi(s)	operation
(epixiris_)			
lino	solve, loose	lisi(s)	solution
(lis_)			
paralipo	omit	paralipsi(s)	omission
(paralips_)			
diefθeto	arrange	diefθetisi(s)	arrangement
(diefθetis_)			
odiyo	drive, lead	odiyisi(s)	driving
(odiyis_)			

Notice that dhemotiki has created another class by extending the -si(s) ending into -simo<sup>1</sup>. This class comes

<sup>1</sup>

Some of these nominals derive straight from the Perfective without any intermediate -si(s) type:

		Nominal -si(s)	Nominal -simo
pefto	fall (v)	* pesis	pesimo fall(n)
(pes_)			
sfazo	slay	* sfaksis	sfaksimo slaying
(sfaks_)			

nearer to the action-activity English gerund. They sometimes differ in meaning from the -si(s) noun. Thus from the verb 'strono', lay, we derive 'strosis', layer and 'strosimo', the laying (of bed or table).

From 'lino', solve, loose, we get 'lisis', solution and 'lisimo', solution but also loosening, undoing.

Finally, there is a class of -ma ending nouns that can do the work that the gerund does in English; the ma ending is added to the Perfective stem (the s is sometimes deleted).

Imperfective	Perfective stem	Nominal
perpat <u>o</u> , walk	- perpatis <sub>-</sub> ,	→ perpatima, walking
kapniz <u>o</u> , smoke	- kapnis <sub>-</sub> ,	→ kapnisma, smoking
kalo <u>o</u> , call	- kales <sub>-</sub> ,	→ kalesma, calling, call
kerno, treat	- keras <sub>-</sub> ,	→ kerasma, treating
sfragiz <u>o</u> , fill- (a tooth)	sfragis <sub>-</sub>	→ sfragisma, filling
χemiz <u>o</u> , fill	- χemis <sub>-</sub> ,	→ χemisma, filling
perno <u>o</u> , pass	- peras <sub>-</sub> ,	→ perasma, passing
δjavaz <u>o</u> , read	- δjavas <sub>-</sub> ,	→ δjavasma, reading
imerono <u>o</u> , tame	- imeros <sub>-</sub> ,	→ imeroma, taming

Let us now see how those potential gerundives can cope with some constructions analogous to the English -ing forms:

Generic 'activity' constructions

to perpatima ine mja kali askisis  
 ∅ Walking is a good exercise  
 to imeroma leondarjon Gen) ine epikinđino  
 ∅ Taming; lions is dangerous

There are two things in which the two (Greek and English) constructions differ: the Greek generic sentence needs a definite article (obligatorily) and also, as far as the

second example is concerned, in Modern Greek we have an objective genitive, whereas in English a generic activity gerund takes an object in the Accusative. Both the Greek and the English can be paraphrased: the Greek into subjunctives; the English into for-to emotive infinitival constructions with deleted indefinite subjects. (Stockwell et al. 1972):

ine mja kali askisis na perpatai kanis

It is a good exercise MM . walk one

It's a good exercise (for one) to walk.

ine epikindino na imeroni kanis leondarja

It is dangerous MM tame one lions

It's dangerous (for one) to tame lions

The Greek 'kanis' is not deletable; there is, however, the alternative of using a generic 2nd pers. sing. which is copied onto the verb ending.

ine mja kali askisis na perpatas

It is a good exercise subj.M you walk

ine epikindino na imeronis leondarja

It is dangerous subj.M. you tame lions

More problematic is the rendering of Poss-ing into Modern Greek. In fact, there are two ways to render it: either a nominal (-si, -isimo, -ma ending) or, with a complement modified by the neutral gender definite article 'to':

(a) to diavasma tu jani

the reading of John

(b) to oti o janis diavazi

The that John reads

If the verb is transitive, the construction will be :

Nominal+Objective Genitive+PP(Agent)

to diavasma tu vivliu apo ton jani

the reading of the book from John.



### 3.4 On the Syntax of Complement Constructions

There are many reasons which can lead us to adopt an NP analysis for Modern Greek Complements:

- (a) They can enter into most of the functional relations of ordinary NPs

Subject: (to) na kanis peripato to **vraði** ine  
efxaristo

Article MM do walk the evening is pleasant

Going for a walk in the evening is pleasant

Object: nomizo pos exi er<sup>θ</sup>i

I think that he has come

Obj.Preposition: vasizete s to oti <sup>θ</sup>a ton voi<sup>θ</sup>iso

He relies on Article that I will help him

Subj.Compl. to xombi tu ine na mazevi petalu<sup>δ</sup>es  
the hobby of him is subj.M.collect  
butterflies

His hobby is collecting butterflies

Apposition: i moni tu apasxolisi, to na mazevi  
to enikia apo tis polikatikies pu exi, tu troi olo tu ton kero  
His only occupation, collecting the  
rents from the blocks of flats that he owns, takes up all of  
his time.

- (b) They pronominalize and cliticize like NPs

to pistevo apolita oti o petros ine timios

It I believe absolutely that Peter is honest

I absolutely believe that Peter is honest.

- (c) Interestingly, most complement clauses can take a Definite Article, which, in cases of verbs followed by prepositions, is obligatory. Classical Greek made an extensive use of Articled Infinitives, some of which were taken over

by kaθarevusa, the puristic Modern Greek language.

Officialese has still a good stock of them, especially used as complements of the verb 'apayorevete', it is forbidden.

apayorevete to fonaskin endos tis eθusis

It is forbidden<sup>Art</sup> to speak loudly in the room

Speaking loudly in the room is forbidden

apayorevete to sinerxesGe paranomos

It is forbidden Art to assemble illegally

(to assemble, Assembling illegally is forbidden

In colloquial Greek there are no longer any Articled Infinitives. Instead, you can have either a si(s),isimo or ma nominal( see page 98 ) or a na + subjunctive construction with the optional use of the Definite Article. Note that the complementizers 'pu' (that) and pos'<sup>1</sup>(that) cannot take an article, though 'oti' and, of course, 'na' can:

(to) oti ine vlakas, oli to kserume

the that he is fool all it we know

We all know that he is a fool

?to pos ine vlakas oli to kserume<sup>1</sup>

to na exis aftokinito exi meyalī simasia simera

the subj.M have car has great importance nowadays

It is very important to have a car nowadays

The fact that 'to' is a singular neutral article may suggest that it is the remnant of the phrase 'to γeyonos' the fact, after a 'γeyonos' deletion has taken place; however, 'to' is used with 'na' complementizers as well,

<sup>1</sup> As far as 'pos' is concerned it may be a matter of dialect but 'pu' never does take an article:

i lipame pu ine toso vlakas

I regret that he is so stupid

ii \*to pu ine vlakas, lipame

as witnessed from the last example, which are, as a rule non-factive complementizers.

Note that the use of the article 'to' becomes obligatory if the complement clause starts with a preposition :

(a) ipologyizi s to oti ʘa exi tin plire ipostirksi mas

He counts on the that will have the full support of us

He counts on the fact that he will have our full support

<sup>\*</sup>  
(b) ipologyizi se oti ʘa exi tin pliri ipostiriksi mas

Interestingly, the use of the Article can be extended to cover Wh- complements:

(to) ti ʘa kano, ʘen afora esena

the what I will do not concerns you

What I'll do does not concern you

(to) pjos espase to vazo, kanis ʘen to kseri

the who broke the vase nobody not it he knows

Nobody knows who broke the vase

(to) pu ʘa pame, ine alo ʘema

the where we shall go is another topic

Where we shall go is another matter

(to) an ʘa erʘi, eksartate apo ton kero

the if he will come depends from the weather

Whether he will come (or not), depends on the weather

(to) pote ʘa pandrefto, ine aynosto ke se meno ton iʘjo

the when I will get married is unknown and to me the same

When I will get married I don't even know myself.

Note that in all the above sentences the complement has been topicalized. The Article can also be used with untopicalized complement, though less frequently.

kanis ʘen kseri (to) pjos espase to vazo

Also, topicalization triggers cliticization of the

complement clause:

oli (to) kserume (to) oti ine vlakas  
All it we know the that he is stupid

Here both the clitic and the article are optional. But if the complement clause is preposed, the sentence becomes ungrammatical without the clitic, though the use of the Article still remains optional:

(to) oti ine vlakas, oli to kserume  
\* (to) oti ine vlakas, oli kserume<sup>1</sup>  
(to) na 0elis mja plusia nifi, to katalaveno  
the MM you want a rich bride it I understand  
I understand you wish to get yourself a rich bride  
\* (to) na 0elis mja plusia nifi, katalaveno

Finally, in connection with the two other test proofs, namely, passivization and pseudo-cleft, I have to say the following: the Passive Voice is very idiosyncratic in Modern Greek and much less used, even in written Greek, than in English. There is a number of verbs which though transitive do not normally passivize.

On the other hand, cleft sentences can obtain. But though there exists a free relative corresponding to the English what, Mod Greek uses a periphrasis made up of <sup>a</sup>demonstrative 'ekinos' that or 'aftos' this, plus a relative in pseudoclefts:

ekino pu 0en kseri kanis ine (to) pjos espase to vazo  
that which not he knows nobody is the who broke the vase  
What nobody knows is who broke the vase.  
ekino to opio 0en kseri kanis ine (to) pjos espase to  
vazo

---

1 For some speakers, however, this sentence is acceptable with a contrastive stress on 'vlakas' and without comma after this word.

3.5.1 A Survey

Those who are not familiar with Greek may be surprised to see sentences preceded by an article. Previous studies, however, have pointed out the peculiar behaviour of the article in Classical Greek. Sommerstein (1972), who has given evidence that the Greek Definite Article was historically derived from a pronoun, has also noticed that when it is preposed of an adverbial phrase the latter can act as a nominal. Evidence for this can be adduced from both Classical and Modern Greek:

Classical	hoi peri ton kleona
	the around article Kleon
	Those of Cleon's circle
	hoi ekei
	the there
Modern	those (who were) there
	i ekso
	the outside
	those (who are) outside, those living abroad
	to apo ki
	the from there
	the one over there, the one on the other side
	i apo xthes kirixθisa aperiya
	the from yesterday declared strike
	the strike that has been declared since yesterday

Sommerstein points out that the expressions which can follow the article to constitute with it a noun phrase are

just those that occur as predicates in sentences of the type NP + copula + Predicate. Thus an adverb like 'bradeos' cannot take an article because a sentence with an \*'estin bradeos' predicate is not grammatical in Classical Greek. What is most important, however, is the fact that this generalization covers not merely adverbial expressions, as shown above, but also adjectives, verbs in participial forms and infinitival phrases. This is also true for Modern Greek, the only difference being that as the infinitive construction has disappeared it is its 'na' construction substitute that can receive the article now. I shall give some examples of those peculiar NPs. In fact they are not so peculiar since, with the exception of the infinitive preceded by an article, there exist corresponding cases in English as well:

Adjectives (used as Abstract Nouns)

<u>Classical Greek</u>	<u>Modern Greek</u>	<u>English</u>
to agathon	to kalo	the good
ho kategoroumenos	o katiyorumenos	the accused
to philosophhein	to na filosofis (subjunctive)	philosophizing; to philosophize

An interesting fact about the Greek infinitive is that it has been divided by the grammarians into two sub-classes, the "end"-infinitive, that is what in Modern Greek terms means na + Subjunctive, and the "special" infinitive which is translated with 'oti' (that) + Indicative. Notice that as R. Lakoff has pointed out, the Classical Greek verbs of saying 'phemi' and 'lego' take the infinitive and 'hoti' (the Modern Greek 'oti') respectively. This can perhaps account for the fact that both na + Subjunctive and oti + Indicative can be

preceded by the definite article in Modern Greek. The fact that the neutral article 'to' is identical in form with the neutral clitic may lead to the conclusion that 'to' is just another clitic object since Modern Greek uses the latter quite freely. One may get the impression that as a clitic can precede a coreferential NP noun or pronoun so it can precede a complement which behaves like an NP.

I tend to reject such an analysis for the following reasons:

Firstly: no clitic is ever preceded by a preposition:<sup>1</sup>

'me to na to kanis afto, exases tin ipolipsi su'

with Article MM Clitic do this you lost the reputation  
of you

By doing this you have lost your reputation

Secondly: There is a Siamese relationship between clitic and verb as we have already seen: no other element can separate them. In the above example there are two 'to's. The second one seems to be the clitic pronoun. It is co-referential to the pronoun 'afto' and precedes the verb. The 'to' of our present analysis is separated from the verb by either complementizer ('na' or 'oti') and in fact it can be separated from the verb by more than one word.

### 3.5.2 Fact Deletion

If there are good reasons to believe that there is 'a fact deletion' in the factive complementizers of English, then what about the Greek case where we have a Determiner which seems to have nothing to determine? For the article 'oti' complements, it looks as though such an analysis is possible. Consider the following sentence:

<sup>1</sup> This has been pointed out in the chapter on Clitics where phrases like 'se me', 'se ton' were starred as ungrammatical.

den anagel@ike oti o franko pe@ane

It was not announced that Franco died

This is ambiguous in that the proposition 'o franko pe@ane', Franco died, may or may not be presupposed. As it seems, one can have it both ways as far as commitment to the truth of the proposition is concerned:

- (a) den anagel@ike oti pe@ane o franko: ara, bori  
na zi akoma

It wasn't announced that Franco died, so he may still be alive

- (b) den anagel@ike oti pe@ane o franko, ja na min  
panikovli@un i pemptofalangites

It was not announced That Franco died in order  
that the fifth columnists might not get panicky

But if the complementizer takes an article only (b) which is committed to the truth of the proposition, is possible.

- (a)\* den anagel@ike to oti pe@ane o franko: ara bori  
na zi akoma

- (b) den anagel@ike to oti pe@ane o franko ja na min  
panikouli@un i pemptofalagites

With nominalization things are not quite clear: for some speakers the sentence below is ambiguous; for others Franco's death is presupposed:

den anagel@ike o @anatos tu franko

It was not announced the death of Franco

The death of Franco was not announced

But even if there is a fact deletion there still remains the non-factive 'na' clause and the Indirect questions. One can postulate other deletions for them too.



'na' clauses, for one thing, may be assumed to have undergone deletion of a word like 'to en<sup>δ</sup>exomeno', the possibility, the likelihood:

to na xtisis ena spiti  
 the subj.M. build a house  
 to build a house, the building of a house

to en<sup>δ</sup>exomeno na xtisis ena spiti  
 the likelihood of building a house

Similarly for Indirect Questions one can assume a phrase like 'i apandisi sto erotima', the answer to the question:

(to) pote tha er<sup>θ</sup>i den to ksero  
 (the) When he will come, I don't know

tin apandisi sto erotima pote tha er<sup>θ</sup>i den ksero  
 the answer to the question when he will come I  
 don't know.

There is something spurious about this analysis, however. Fact alone, for instance, cannot cover all the factive instances. Other head words like event or state are also needed. Nor 'likelihood' is good enough for non-factivity. We will need non-factive words like 'the idea', 'the thought', the intention', etc.

### 3.5.3 A Syntactic Analysis

The occurrence of the article which we have witnessed could be (syntactically) accounted for by the fact that complements can have the properties of both: clauses and NPs. But the analysis treating complements as NPs with a clause as their only constituent : NP must somehow be modified to include the determiner 'to'.

But first let's see if there are any similarities of distribution between ordinary sentences and 'oti' or 'na' complements.

we have already mentioned the various NP functions that Modern Greek complements can perform: Subject, Object, Noun in apposition etc. Now I am going to give an account of their behaviour as clauses. Negation, Passivization and Topicalization within the complement are all possible.

Negation: ksero oti ine eksipnos  
I know that he ~~is~~ clever  
ksero oti <sup>den</sup> ine eksipnos  
I know that he is not clever

Passivization: to na paris mja tetja apofase, ine <sup>(Act)</sup> diskolo  
To take such a decision is difficult  
to na par<sup>0</sup>i mja tetja apofasi ine <sup>(Passiv)</sup> diskolo  
For such a decision to be taken is difficult

Topicalization: nomizo oti <sup>den</sup> sevese ton patera  
I think that you do not respect your father  
nomizo oti ton patera su <sup>den</sup> sevese  
I think that your father you do not respect

Finally, consider the following sentences with the two anaphoric alternatives that they may have: 'to', it and 'etsi' so

- elpizo na vreksi sindoma  
I hope it will rain soon
- (a) ke  $\gamma$ o to elpizo  
And I it I hope  
I hope so too
- (b) ke  $\gamma$ o etsi elpizo  
And I so I hope  
same as (a)

fovame oti  a xasume

I am afraid we are going to lose

(a) ke  o to fovame

And I it I fear

I am afraid so too

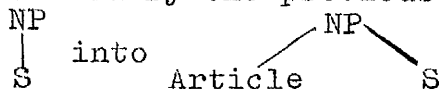
(b) ke  o etsi fo vame

And I so I fear

I am afraid so too

It is, I should think, intuitively satisfying to say that 'etsi' is used anaphorically, with the complement taken as a clause, while the clitic 'to' is used when the complement is taken as an NP or, as the Kiparskys would put it, 'to' is the proform for NPs and 'etsi' the proform for sentences (see Kiparskys 1971, 362, in connection with it and so).

We must now modify the previous analysis of the complement clauses as



However, one cannot postulate an NP analysis for all complement clauses. Some of them in fact do not have distributions similar to those of NPs: they take neither articles nor clitics in apposition to them (the complements), as those analysed as NPs do. Compare for instance:

(c) perimena o pavlos, na xorepsi

I expected Paul to dance

(c') to na xorepsi o pavlos, to perimena

(d) evala na xorepsi o pavlos

I asked Paul to dance / I asked that Paul should dance

(d')\* to na xorepsi o pavlos, to evala

Sentence (d) is not like (c) in which the complement can appear as a topicalized object (c'), with an article (first 'to'), and a coreferential clitic (second 'to') in apposition to the topicalized complement. Furthermore pseudoclefting applies to (c) but not to (d) as witness:

(c'') ekino pu perimena itan ton pavlo na .

That which I expected was Paul to dance

(d'') \* ekino pu evala itan ton pavlo na xorepsi

Complement clauses like the one in (d) function as adverbs and not as NPs. This is so because 'na' is also a conjunction of purpose or result. We shall return to this when we discuss Raising.

### 3.6 The 'oti' (pos) versus 'na' opposition in Modern Greek. with a Consideration of the Pragmatics of Comp Clauses.

In the previous chapter I mentioned the reification vs. potentiality or factivity vs. non-factivity opposition that holds in general between 'oti' and 'na' complements. Here I propose to examine some semantico-pragmatic distinctions between these two types of Modern Greek complements. Consider the following sentences:

1 (a) Oia mu i aȝaȝi epimeni oti vlepi tenies porno  
My aunt Agatha insists that she watches porn movies

1 (b) i Oia i aȝaȝi epimeni na vlepi tenies porno  
My aunt Agatha insists on watching porn movies

2 (a) episa ton stefano oti eryazete sklira  
I convinced Stephen that he works hard

2 (b) episa ton stefano na eryazete sklira  
I convinced (persuaded) Stephen to work hard

3 (a) simfonisa oti ime me to meros tus  
I agreed that I am on their side

3 (b) simfonisa na ime me to meros tus  
I agreed to be on their side

4 (a) min ksexnas oti óixnis panda nea kjomorfi  
Don't forget that you always look young and pretty

- 4 (b) min esexnas na ôixnis panda nea kjomorfi ston  
andra su

Don't forget to always look young and pretty to  
your husband

- 5 (a) arniðike oti itan pandremenos  
He denied that he was married

- 5 (b) arniðike na pandrefti  
He refused to get married

- 6 (a) leo oti piçeno stin eklisia kaðe vðomaða  
I say that I go to church every week

- 6 (b) leo na piçeno stin eklisia kaðe vðomaða  
I am thinking of going to church every week  
(I am thinking of starting going to church every  
week)

There is a tendency for the 'oti' complement to refer to a physical or mental state, while 'na' + subjunctive usually expresses some notion of activity in the complement.<sup>1</sup> In 1(a) for instance, the speaker seems to have some doubts as to whether his auntie really goes to blue movies. The complement refers to a mental reality rather than to the actual activity. What is emphasized in the complement is not aunt Agatha's insistence on going but on maintaining that she goes to porns. In the (b) case, on the other hand, it is the other way round: the speaker seems to take it for granted that his aunt goes to such movies and perhaps deprecates her for doing so. In 2(a) I have convinced somebody of his physical state; of the fact that he strains himself too much and perhaps that he might suffer a break-

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1 In more abstract terms we might say that 'na' complement expresses event and 'oti' complement a proposition.

down or something, if he does not take some rest or reduce his working hours. In 2(b) circumstances demand hard work. So I have convinced somebody involved to act accordingly. In 3(a) I agree on something, whether it is a political party or a movement for the abolition of capital punishment. In 3(b), on the other hand, more than mere sympathy is expected from the side I have agreed to be with. They may expect from me active support or at least moral support that involves some sort of activity on my part. Whereas (a) refers to a pre-existing state (b) points forward to the future and implies a commitment of the speaker. In 4, again, while the speaker refers to the actual physical state of his or her addressee in (a), in (b) he seems to offer advice to her as to how she will be able to keep her husband out of harm's way. This again will involve activity, good make up, diet, slimming etc. In 5(a) the subject denies his marital state; in 5(b) he refuses to get married. Notice that if a verb expresses only a physical state it cannot take a 'na' complement.

a. o as0enis arni0ike oti ponese stin eyxirisi  
the patient denied that he felt pain during  
the operation.

b. ?o as0enis arni0ike na ponesi stin eyxirisi  
the patient refused to feel pain during the  
operation

Finally 6(a) can be thought of as a repeated activity which has somehow become a state, whereas in 6(b) the subject contemplates starting doing something.

In certain cases 'oti' expresses more certainty for a

future event than 'na' does (as should be expected);

- a. pistevo na nikisume

I hope that we will win

- b. pistevo oti tha nikisume

I believe that we will win

The verb 'pistevo', believe, is reduced to meaning hope when followed by a 'na' complement. For more proof notice the unacceptability of the first sentence below where the matrix verb is modified by an adverb expressing absolute certainty:

- a. \*? pistevo akraðanda na nikisume

- b. pistevo akraðanda oti tha nikisume

I firmly believe that we will win

I shall now go on with another 'oti'-na' opposition that has to do with the verbs of perception in Modern Greek. Here are some examples:

- 1 (a) akuo oti o xitonas mas trayuðai aries kaθe proi

I hear that our neighbour sings arias every morning

- 1 (b) akuo to xitona mas na trayuðai aries kaθe proi

I hear our neighbour singing arias every morning

- 2 (a) vlepo oti o xitonas apenandi xtipai taxtika  
ti xineka tu

I see that the neighbour across the road beats  
his wife regularly

- 2 (b) vlepo to xitona apenandi na xtipai taxtika  
ti xineka tu

I see the neighbour across the road beat his wife  
(regularly)

In 1(a) I do not actually hear my neighbour singing.

Rather I am informed about it; in 1(b) I have an actual perception of the situation, that is, I can hear him with my own ears. Similarly in 2(a) it is the case that I rather deduce than actually see the woman being beaten, whereas in 2(b) I eyewitness the fact. Note that if I use an adverb denoting that the act is happening at the time of my speaking the 'oti' clause is marginal. Compare:

- (a) ?vlepo oti o Xitonas xtipai ti Xineka tu afti ti stigmi  
I see that the neighbour is beating his wife at this  
(very) moment
- (b) vlepo to Xitona na xtipai ti Xineka tu afti ti stigmi  
I see the neighbour beating his wife at this (very)  
moment.

When an act or activity or situation is directly perceived by the speaker a 'na' complement is used; when, on the other hand, the speaker is given an indirect report of something happening or existing, or when the speaker is capable of deducing, then 'oti' complement is used. Note that when a sensory verb is used metaphorically this semantic distinction is not neutralized:

- 3(a) vlepo oti iparxi ena misos anamesa tus  
I see that there is a hatred between them
- 3(b) vlepo na iparxi misos anamesa tus  
I can see their hating each other

3(a) has the meaning: I have come to the conclusion, whereas 3(b) the speaker seems to have a much more direct perception of the situation and a much more tangible proof of the fact that they hate each other. The semantic distinction is neutralized, however, when the complement clause refers to the future, in which case (a) there is no



possibility of direct perception and (b) as a consequence a verb like 'vlepo' actually means 'provlepo', that is foresee:

4(a) vlepo na min ta piŕenume kala me ton neo proistameno  
I foresee that we aren't going to get on well with  
the new boss

4(b) vlepo oti Ŗen Ŗa pame kala me ton neo proistameno.

Basically the meanings of (a) and (b) are the same, the only difference being that in (a) the use of the simple present, in contrast with the use of the future in (b) gives a sense of immediacy to what is likely to happen.

Summarizing our data so far, there is a semantic distinction between 'oti' + Ind. and 'na' + Subj. in that the former takes a predicate that expresses a mental or physical state, whereas the latter points to an activity. As far as verbs of perception are concerned, 'oti' + Subj. is used when the complement shows what is indirectly perceived or deduced, while the 'na' complement on the other hand, is used to communicate a direct and fairly concrete perception of an action activity or state. We shall have more to say about the distinction between 'oti' and 'na' when we deal with the semantics of the complement clauses in a more systematic way in the following sections.

3.7.1 Habitual vs. Nonhabitual

A.I. Bakker, 1970, has observed that the difference between Present Subjunctive and Aorist Subjunctive is that in the former 'an action is seen in its perspective coinciding with another occurrence whereas in the latter we denote an absolute fact that has no relationship with any other occurrence'. (Bakker, p.82). These observations have led him to believe that verbs of 'fearing', 'hoping' and 'waiting' cannot be followed by present, while verbs of 'beginning', 'stopping' and 'continuing' cannot be followed by Aorist. Let us take the verb 'elpizo', hope, and see what tenses its complement allows:

- (1) elpizo na δjavazi tora (Pres. Subj)  
 I hope Pr.MM study Subj. now  
 I hope that he is studying now
- (2) elpizo na δjavasi tora (Aorist Subj)  
 I hope Pr.MM study Subj. now  
 I hope that he will study now
- (3)a elpizo na δjavase protu pai sxolio (Aorist Ind.)  
 I hope MM studied before going to school  
 I hope that he (had) studied before going to school  
 b elpizo na δjavase xtes (Aorist Ind)  
 I hope MM studied yesterday  
 I hope that he studied yesterday
- (4)a elpizo na exi δjavasi (Perfect Subj)  
 I hope MM have studied  
 I hope that he has studied

- b elpizo na exi δjavasi protu pai sxolio  
 I hope MM have studied before go school  
 I hope that he will have studied before going  
 to school
- (5) elpizo na ixe δjavasi xtes  
 I hope MM had studied yesterday  
 I hope he had studied yesterday.

Pace Bakker, who believes that 'hope' cannot be followed by present "because there would be a gap between the action and the line by means of which the present may be symbolized" (sic); (1) is perfect: this is, I think, due to the fact that 'hope' denotes a state and, in all likelihood, there can be a coincidence between a state and another state (or action). Notice the difference in meaning between 'tora', now, or (1) and that of (2). In the former it modifies the complement verb; in the latter it modifies the matrix verb and usually implies "now, after what has happened".

The difference between Subjunctive Present and Aorist is usually one between + habitual vs. - habitual or Perfective vs. Imperfective. Consider first a volition verb:

- (6) a. Oelo na me ksipnas noris to proi (Pres.Subj.)  
 I want MM me wake up early the morning  
 I want you to wake me up early in the morning  
 (every morning)
- b. Oelo na me ksipnisis noris to proi (Aor. Subj.)  
 I want MM me you wake up early the morning  
 I want you to wake me up early in the morning  
 (Tomorrow morning)

With adverbs of frequency like 'siniθos' usually, 'sixna', often, 'panda' always, only (a) is grammatical.

a' θelo na me ksipnas panda noris to proi (Present)

b' \*θelo na me ksipnisis panda noris to proi (Aorist)

Taking up 'elpizo' again, we notice that it's Present Tense complement is not only used with a meaning similar to that of English Present Continuous, but also with a Future meaning like the Aorist: the only difference being that the Present, unlike the Aorist refers to a habitual or repetitive action.

(7)a. elpizo na se vlepo sixna (Present Subjunctive) Imperf.

I hope MM you see often

I hope to see you often

b. elpizo na se θo sindoma (Aorist Subjunctive) Perf.

I hope MM you see soon

I hope to see you soon

Concerning the disallowance of Aorist with verbs of beginning, stopping and continuing, we note that this is only partly true; that is, if we talk of Subjunctive in general without making a distinction between catenatives and non-catenatives (Palmer 1974), then a Subjunctive Aorist can be used adverbially, as witness. Compare:

(8)a. stamatise na pji kati (Subjunctive Aorist) Perf.

He stopped MM drink something

He stopped to drink something

b. stamatise na pini kراسi (Subjunctive Present) Imperf.

He stopped MM drink wine.

He stopped drinking wine

Sentence (8)a, unlike, (8)b has an adverbial complement, but Bakker makes no such distinction and discusses Subjunctives in general. However, verbs of beginning, finishing, etc. do

take Aorist complements. The difference between Present and Aorist Subjunctive, in this case, is the same as that between the English sentences: he stopped drinking and he stopped to drink.

### 3.7.2 Aspect in Sensory Verbs

We shall now examine another aspectual contrast, that between [+Perfective]:Aorist and [- Perfective]:Present. between [+Perfective]:Aorist and [- Perfective]:Present.<sub>e</sub> Whereas the [+Perfective] indicates the fulfilment of the the non-fulfilment of it but the non-designation of the fulfilment. (Babinotis, 1972). The verbs under discussion are 'sensory verbs' or verbs of perception:

(1) a. iða ton katiçorumeno naerxete ekso (Present Subj.)Imperf.

I saw the accused MM come out

I saw the accused coming out.

b iða ton katiçorumeno na erçi ekso(Aorist Subj.)Perf.

I saw the accused Subj.MM come out

I saw the accused come out.

(2) a akusa to çima na fonazi(Present Subj) Imperf.

I heard the victim Sub.MM scream

I heard the victim screaming

b akusa to çima na fonaksi (Aorist Subj.)Perf.

I heard the victim Subj.MM scream

I heard the victim scream

Whereas a matrix Aorist ( Perfective) verb can have either an Imperfective complement 1a, 2a, or, a Perfective one, 1b, 2b, a matrix Present or Imperfect(both Imperfective) takes a Present tense(Imperfective) complement only as witness:

c. akuo to Qima na fonazi (Present) (Present)

I can hear the victim is screaming

akuya to Qima na fonazi (Imperfect) (Present)

I could hear the victim screaming

\* akuo to Qima na fonaksi (Present) (Aorist)

I can hear the victim scream

\* akuya to Qima na fonaksi (Imperfect) (Aorist)

For all three (a, b, c) there is an alternative 'pu' +

Indicative construction that is, a Relative - Temporal clause.

ioa ton katiyorumeno puerxotan ekso (Imperfect)

I saw the accused as he was coming out

ioa ton katiyorumeno pu irΘe ekso (Aorist Indic)

I saw the accused when he came out.

In all the 'na' Subjunctive complement clauses we notice a consistent sequence of Aspect: Matrix.Perfective, Complement clause.Perfective.Matrix Imperfective, complement clause Imperfective. In narrative speech a combination of matrix in the Imperfective and complement clause in the Perfective is possible if 'pu' instead of 'na' is used.<sup>1</sup>

vlepo ton katiyorumeno pu irΘe ekso

I see Pr. the accused that he came (Aorist) out

An interesting contrast between Perfective vs non-Perfective aspect can be seen in the complements of the verb 'vrisko', find: na + Present tense subjunctive shows that an activity is in progress whereas a Present Perfect participle in the Passive Voice marks the completion of the action, activity.

1 Notice, however, the ambiguity of all those 'pu' clauses between an adverbial ('pu', when, while) and an adjectival interpretation ('pu' = 'o opios', who, which, that). See the Relative Clauses chapter).

- a. ton vrika na pini (P<sup>r</sup>esent Subj.) Imperf.  
 him I found MM drink  
 I found him drinking
- b. ton vrika pjomeno (Passive Participle) Perf.  
 him I found drunk  
 I found him drunk, I found that he had drunk
- a. vrika tin lora na sjavazi (Present Subj.) Imperf.  
 I found Laura MM read  
 I found Laura reading
- b. vrika tin lora sjavasmeni (Passive Participle) Perf.  
 I found Laura read  
 I found that Laura had read (studied)

This contrast, however, is neutralized with verbs expressing states:

- a. o nikos vrike ton patera tu na kaete ston kanape  
 Nick found his father MM sit on the sofa  
 Nick found his father sitting on the sofa.
- b. o nikos vrike ton patera tu kaismeno ston kanape  
 Nick found his father sat on the sofa
- a. o astifilakas vrike ton zitjano na kimate sto pangaki  
 The policeman found the beggar MM sleep on the bench  
 The policeman found the beggar sleeping on the bench.
- b. o astifilakas vrike ton zitjanokimismeno sto pangaki  
 The policeman found the beggar slept on the bench

Here both (a) and (b) express a state but no completion is involved in the Present Perfect Participle. It is interesting

to note that both intransitive, state expressing verbs, are Medio-Passive in form in Modern Greek: kaθome', 'kimame',

Actually, this is a difference between states and processes.

If sentences can be thought of as being divided into those that describe processes and those that describe states then, in the latter case, the situation described is taken to be constant through time and the aspectual difference between Present and the periphrasis: Copula + Passive Perfect Participle is neutralized. Consider the following sentences:

safti ti fotografia o janis kaθete dipla sti meri  
In-this picture John is sitting next to Mary  
safti ti fotografia o janis ine kaθismenos dipla sti  
meri

In this picture John is sat next to Mary

Both the present and the construction copula + Passive Perfect Participle have a durative-progressive aspect and are perfectly synonymous. But in a case where the verb describes a process, there is a difference between present and the periphrasis in that the former is [-Perfective] and the latter [+Perfective]:

afta ta portreta puljunde (Present Passive) Imperf.

These portraits sell

These portraits are for sale

afta ta portreta ine pulimeua (Passive Partic) Perf.

These portraits are (copula) sell

These portraits have been sold.

However, a sentence can be ambiguous due to the fact that a verb can express either a state or process that is,



there are verbs capable of describing both. Consider the following sentence:

iða to jani na kaθete ðipla se mja kiria

I saw John MM sit next to a lady

This can either mean that my eye caught John at the very moment when he was lowering his body to sit next to the lady and it is the description of a process rather than of a state, or, that when my eye caught sight of John he had already sat next to the lady.

We have seen that the contrast between +Perfective and -Perfective may be neutralized. In fact, there are cases when stative verbs in the Present (Imperfect) can render both aspects, as witness from the complement verbs of the following sentences:

a. Øelo na vriskese eðo otan se xriazome

I want MM find Med-Pass here when you I need

I want you to be here whenever I need you.

b. Øelo na vriskese eðo prin apo tis endeka .

I want MM find Med-Pass here before from the eleven

I want you to be here by eleven

All the differences between Present Subjunctive and Aorist Subjunctive are, actually, differences that one meets in independent, Indicative-verb clauses as well; 'vriskome', find oneself, be, can, in independent clauses, have both aspects in what, by rights, should be -Perfective.

a. vriskome eðo tora (Present)

I find Med.Pass here now

I am here now

b. Øa vriskome eðo oli mera avrio (Imperfect-Future)

MM find Med-Pass here all day tomorrow

I will be here all day tomorrow

c.  $\Theta a$  vriskome edo prin tis enea (Future Imperfective with  
a Perfective meaning)  
Mr find Med-Pass here before the nine

I will be here by nine (I will have returned by nine)

d.\*  $\Theta a$  vre $\Theta o$  edo prin tis enea (Perfect Future)

The Subjunctive Aorist of (d) does not fit in spite of the Perfective aspect of the sentence.<sup>1</sup>

We have touched upon the neutralization of the aspectual opposition of Perfective vs. Imperfective but we haven't explained it. Consider the following two sentences:

(a)  $i\delta a$  to jani na  $\delta erni$  to skilo tu

I saw John beating his dog

(b)  $i\delta a$  to jani na  $\delta javazi$  to vivlio

I saw John reading the book

Whereas the Imperfective tense complement ' $\delta erni$  to skilo tu' implies also the Perfective ' $e\delta ire(exi \delta iri)$  to skilo tu' in (a), the Imperfective complement ' $\delta javazi$  to vivlio' does not imply the Perfective ' $\delta javase(exi \delta javasi)$  to vivlio, in (b).

Some predicates, together with their arguments, express something that can be broken off part way through, whereas in other predicates inchoation can imply fulfilment as well. Thus, in one case an action expressed with an Imperfect tense ' $o jani s e\delta erne$  to skilo tu' implies the Perfective, too, but in another, ' $o jani s \delta javaze$  ena vivlio' it does not. This is why ' $vrika$  to zitjano na kimate' I found the beggar sleeping comes to be synonymous to ' $vrika$  to zitjano kimismo', whereas ' $vrika$  ti lora na  $\delta javazi$ ' I found Laura reading, differs from ' $vrika$  ti lora  $\delta javasmeni$ '.

<sup>1</sup>

The sentence can be grammatical in certain contexts. Furthermore, the Subjunctive Aorist is used much oftener than the Present when the verb ' $vriskome$ ' has a Passive Voice meaning (be found).

Note that in one case a negative + 'akoma', yet Perfective has two readings, one in which something has not occurred so far and, one on which something has not finished, has not been completed yet. In another case, however the same construction has only one reading on which something has not occurred so far. Compare:

(a')  $\delta en\ exo\ \delta javasi\ akoma\ to\ vivlio$

I haven't read the book yet

(b')  $\delta en\ exo\ \delta iri\ akoma\ to\ skilo\ mu$

I haven't beaten my dog yet

Sentence (a') is ambiguous between: I haven't started reading the book or so far I haven't read the book at all, and: I haven't finished reading it. Sentence (b') on the other hand, can normally have only one reading: up till now I haven't beaten my dog. Consider appropriate continuations of (a') and (b'):

(a'')  $\delta en\ exo\ \delta javasi\ to\ vivlio\ akoma; ute\ to\ agiksa\ kan$

I haven't read the book yet; not even touched it

(a''')  $\delta en\ exo\ \delta javasi\ akoma\ to\ vivlio; eksakolu\theta o\ na\ to$

$\delta javazo$

I haven't read the book yet; I continue reading it

(b'')  $\delta en\ exo\ \delta iri\ akoma\ to\ skilo\ mu; ute\ ton\ piraksa\ kan$

I haven't beaten my dog yet; not even teased it

(b''') \*  $\delta en\ exo\ \delta iri\ akoma\ to\ skilo\ mu; eksakolu\theta o\ na\ ton$

$\delta erno$

I haven't beaten my dog yet; I continue beating it

Again, compare the sentences:

(c)  $\delta en\ exi\ fai\ akoma; ine\ apo\ meres\ nistikos$

He hasn't eaten yet; He's been without food for days

(c')  $\delta en\ exi\ fai\ akoma; eksakolu\theta i\ na\ troi$

He hasn't eaten yet; he continues eating

(d) ðen exi kaθisi akoma;ine orθios

He hasn't' sat yet;he is standing

(d') \*ðen exi kaθisi akoma eksakoluθi na kaθete

He hasn't sat yet;he continues sitting

When there is a contrast between completion or fulfilment and continuation, which implies nonfulfilment, the sentence is acceptable, i.e. (a'') and (c') in which Perfective ≠ Imperfective. This contrast cannot obtain, however, in sentences where inchoation implies completion or fulfilment as well, i.e. (b''), (d'), in which Imperfective = Perfective; hence, negation of the latter has no place that is, it does not make any sense to contrast Imperfective and Perfective where the former implies the latter as it happens with the Imperfective in (b'') and (d').

So far we have discussed the use of present subjunctive vs. Aorist in "na complements". We shall return to verbs of beginning and stopping and examine why it is that, in some cases, they refuse to take a 'na' complement at all, even though the complement is in the Present (c.f. Bakker).

There are verbs which denote actions that happen instantaneously (in the twinkling of an eye, I would say of some of them) and verbs which refer to more durative events. Consider the following sentences:

a John and Peter turned the switch off

b John and Peter dug up the garden

In (a) it is difficult to imagine a situation where John and Peter switched off the light by turns; it is more probable in this case, that either John or Peter actually switched off the light. Turning off a light is normally such a simple thing and takes such a short time to do it that it becomes apparent that the writer of (a) mentions two persons as the subjects of the sentence simply because they happened to be together rather than because they did switching off together. In (b) however, they may have dug the garden together or, one of them dug a part of the garden first and the other finished it off. This is quite a possible version of (b) owing<sup>to</sup> the "durativeness" of the verb dig.

Dowty (1972) and Cochrane (1977) have already pointed out that verbs denoting "achievements" (see Vendler, 1967) such as recognize, reach the top etc. cannot be used as complements of begin or stop whereas those verbs denoting "accomplishments" can because they are durative in nature.

I tend to disagree with this view because, as I see it, verbs like recognize are used as complements of the verbs begin and stop:

c i kritiki arxizun ton anaynorizun san ton

eeeniko mas piiti

The critics are beginning to recognize him

as our national poet

d epapsan na ton anaynorizun san ton pnevmatiko

tus iyeti

They stopped recognizing him as their

spiritual leader

In other words, it all depends on the durativeness of the verb denoting achievement. This is the reason why the sentence below is bad:

e \*arxise na spai to pangozmio recor sti

diskovolia

He began to break the world record at

discus throwing.

This can be achieved at a single stroke unlike the recognition which can be a gradual process; similarly the sentence below is not well-formed unless we imagine a context where someone is gradually being poisoned:

f ? arxisan na ton skotonun

They began killing him (shooting him dead)

The act of killing someone is normally done quickly and one can hardly imagine a beginning and an end of it unless speaking metaphorically ie. by meaning kill when in actual fact one is only wounded. Similarly a sentence like:

g \* arxizi na peoeni

he is beginning to die.

1 Unless, of course used in an iterative sense

is also unacceptable for almost all Greek speakers. Instead, a sentence like 'pnei ta lisθia', he is breathing his last, is used. However, instantaneous verbs may be used in 'na' complements if the action referred to occurs repeatedly as witness:

g arxisan na skotonun tus exmalotus enan enan

They began killing the prisoners one by one

This sentence is ok. because it refers to the act of killing in an iterative sense.

Pragmatic considerations should also be taken into account here as the speaker can prolong an action which normally is non-durative

arxise na kateveni apo to leoforio

He begun getting off the bus

Here the speaker focuses on the subject's slowness of movement. If it is more likely then, that the subject will be an old man rather than a brisk young boy. Again consider the two sentences below:

h \* o ipuryos arxise na paretite

The minister began to resign

i ? o ipuryos arxise na paretite prin tris

mines ala distixos parameni akomi stin

kivernisi

The minister begun to resign three months

ago but unfortunately he still remains in the  
cabinet.

Tendering one's resignation is usually a non durative act . Sometimes however, a resignation can take the form of a threat that is never realised. In such a case a sentence like i is acceptable in an ironical sense.

Durative verbs can be followed by a coordinate clause denoting continuity or finishing, instantaneous ones cannot:

arxisan na skavun ton kipo ke teliosan to vradi

They began digging the garden and finished in  
the afternoon.

\* arxisan na anavun to fos ke teliosan amesos

They began turning off the light and finished  
immediately.

\* ? arxisan na ton skotonun ke teliosan se lixa  
lefta

They began killing him and finished in a few  
moments.

Whether an event denoted by the arxise+'na' complement construction is momentary or durative depends on the complement verb: if the verb is durative this construction is possible since there is a temporal gap between the beginning and the end of it. But if, on the other hand, the complement verb is momentary, its beginning and end leave no gap between them. This is the reason why adverbs denoting gradual process like 'lixo - lixo' and 'sixa - sixa' gradually, cannot occur with momentary verbs whereas durative verbs especially verbs expressing states can, as witness:

arxise sixa - sixa na aypai tis ekdromes

He gradually began to like excursions

\* arxise sixa - sixa na ylistrai pano sti bananofluda

He gradually began to slip on the banana peel

Durative verbs, especially those expressing states, can take such adverbs since they can be extended over an interval of time.



### 3.8.1 A Case for Raising

There is a so-called RAISING rule in Transformational Grammar which relates a and b in the following pairs of sentences:

- a Americans believe that Nixon is dishonest  
b Americans believe Nixon to be dishonest  
a' It seems that he has disappeared  
b' He seems to have disappeared

In the first pair we have Subject to Object Raising, that is the subject of the subordinate clause has been raised (or promoted) to become the object of the main clause; in the second pair, on the other hand, we have Subject to Subject Raising, in other words the subject of the subordinate clause has been raised to become the subject of the main clause.

What is most characteristic of the above sentences however, is the fact that after raising has occurred the embedded subordinate clauses no longer have finite verbs, an indication that their subject "is missing".

Mod.Greek,however,has no infinitives in complement clauses,their role having been taken over by the subjunctive. Are we,then,to conclude that no raising occurs in that language? Postal (1974),and others,have proved that raising can occur with finite verbs too. The question is:does Raising occur in Mod Greek,too? ..Consider the sentences:

- (1)a i litsa θeori oti o αδελφος tis ine o kaliteros  
maθitis stin taksi  
Litsa considers that her brother(Nom.)is the best  
student in the class

The verb 'Θεωρο', consider, can occur without an object in the higher clause. The complement clause on the other hand, has a Subject NP 'ο αδελφος' in the Nominative case. This Subject can be 'raised' to acquire another 'clause-mate', that is to become the object of the verb 'Θεωρο':

(1)b i litsa Θεωρι ton αδελφο tis oti ine o kaliteros  
maΘitis stin taksi

Litsa considers her brother(Acc) that<sup>he</sup> is the best  
student in the class

The first thing to notice is that the nominative ('ο αδελφος') has now become accusative ('ton αδελφο'). This accusative cannot occur in the lower clause:

(1)c \* i litsa Θεωρι oti ton αδελφο tis ine o kaliteros  
maΘitis stin taksi

Litsa considers that her brother(Acc.) is the best  
student in class

That is, the NP 'αδελφο tis' actually belongs in the higher clause once its grammatical case has changed from nominative into accusative.

Another characteristic of this "promotion" of the NP is that it may have a coreferential clitic, which proves its status as an object NP<sup>1</sup> (see chapter on clitics).

i litsa ton<sub>i</sub> Θεωρι ton αδελφο tis<sub>i</sub> oti ine o  
kaliteros maΘitis stin taksi

Litsa him<sub>i</sub> considers her brother<sub>i</sub> (Acc.) that he is the  
the best student in class

---

1. Actually, we have said of some clitics that they function as 'logical' subjects, but this is a purely semantic distinction.

Another indication of "clause-matiness" is that if the raised object is coreferential with the subject of the main clause then, it will be reflexivized

(2) a i litsa  $\Theta$ eori oti afti(Nom) ine i kaliteri stin taksi

Litsa considers that she is the best in class

b i litsa  $\Theta$ eori ton eafto tis(Acc) oti ine i kaliteri  
stin taksi

Litsa considers herself that she is the best in class

Litsa considers herself to be the best in class

The Mod. Greek verb ' $\Theta$ eoro' consider, can occur without an object as a higher verb of a complement clause, as in a. If, however, we raise the subject of the subordinate clause to become object of the main clause, as in b, then 'afti' will be reflexivized into 'ton eafto tis', herself.

Note that there are marginal cases where reflexivization does not occur as witness:

c ? i litsa<sub>i</sub>  $\Theta$ eori afti<sub>i</sub> oti ine i kaliteri stin taksi  
Nom.

Sentence c is possible for the following reasons; 'afti' has crossed over but it has not become an object; it is still in the nominative case and functions as a focus. Note that ' $\Theta$ eoro', like its gloss in English, consider can also occur with a verbless (Adjectival) complement:

d i litsa  $\Theta$ eori ton eafto tis san tin kaliteri  
stin taksi

Litsa considers herself as the best in class

But if ' $\Theta$ eoro' has a verbless complement, reflexivization is obligatory; the substitution of personal pronoun 'afti' for the reflexive 'ton eafto tis' could be impossible unless 'afti' is non-coreferential:

\*i litsa<sub>i</sub>  $\Theta$ eor<sub>i</sub> afti<sub>i</sub> san tin kaliteri stin taksi

i litsa<sub>i</sub>  $\Theta$ eor<sub>i</sub> afti<sub>j</sub> san tin kaliteri stin taksi

Another proof that what has been raised is now the object of the higher verb is that, if this verb is passivized, the raised object will subsequently become subject whereas, the original subject of the active verb ' $\Theta$ eoro' will be now the agent in the passive:

Unrais. , i astinomiki  $\Theta$ eorun oti o janis ine enoxos.

The policemen consider that John is guilty.

The policemen consider John to be guilty

Rais. i astinomiki  $\Theta$ eorun to jani oti ine enoxos

The policemen consider John that he is guilty

Passiv. O janis  $\Theta$ eorite apo tus astinomikus oti ine enoxos

John is considered by the policemen that he is guilty

But again passivization is impossible if raising has not preceded:

\*  $\Theta$ eorite apo tus astinomikus oti o janis ine enoxos

It is considered by the policemen that John is guilty

Semantic evidence can be adduced from the passivization of the complement clauses and their comparison with complement clauses whose higher verbs allow of no raising:

Unrais. a perimena na ksepastrepsi o pinoset olus tus  
Nom  $\delta$ iafonundes

I expected MM eliminate the Pinocet all the  
dissenters

Rais. a' perimena ton pinoset na ksepastrepsi olus  
Acc tus  $\delta$ iafonundes

I expected Pinocet to eliminate all the  
dissenters

Passiv. a'' perimena olus tus diafonundes na ksepastreftun  
 apo ton pinoset  
 I expected all the dissenters to be eliminated  
 by Pinocet

b \* episa na ksepastrepsi o pinoset olus tus  
 Nom.<sup>1</sup>  
 diafonundes  
 I persuaded MM eliminate the Pinocet all the  
 dissenters  
 I persuaded that Pinocet eliminate all the  
 dissenters

b' episa ton pinoset na ksepastrepsi olus tus  
 Acc.  
 diafonundes  
 I persuaded Pinocet to eliminate all the  
 dissenters

Passiv. b'' episa olus tus diafonundes na ksepastreftun  
 apo ton pinoset  
 I persuaded all the dissenters to be eliminated  
 by Pinocet

a' and a'' are synonymous, b' and b'' are not. We do not have to explain this in TG terms. I simply take raising to be a syntactic process with a kind of semantic explanation in it; thus, whereas in the case of 'perimena' expected, we have a two-termed relation between someone expecting and what is being expected, with 'episa' persuaded, we have three terms involved: one that persuades, one that is persuaded and what constitutes the outcome of persuasion. Both English and Mod. Greek syntax allow a NP to move upstairs so long as it does not constitute a distinct term on its own, as it happens with verbs like

'episa' persuaded. The difference between b' and b'' is

1 The sentence is ungrammatical because 'episa' unlike 'perimena', cannot occur without a 'real' direct object.

a difference between persons that are persuaded (Pinocet in b' and 'diafonundes' in b''); no such difference exists between a' and a'' since, as we have already said, the two-termed-relation involves only someone expecting and what is expected to be done.

Notice that in the case of a two-termed-relation, as in 'perimena', the complement clause functions as an object NP and its verb can be replaced by a -ma nominal, whereas, in the three-termed-relation in which we have a  $NP_1 \widehat{V} NP_2 [Adv_s]$  construction and the  $NP_2$  is the direct object of V, we cannot obtain a similar nominalization as witness:

c perimena to ksepastrema ton diafonundon apo ton pinoset

I expected the elimination of the dissenters by Pinocet

d \*episa to ksepastrema ton diafonundon apo ton pinoset

I persuaded the elimination of the dissenters by

Pinocet

If the complement verb is nominalized in the sentence whose higher verb is 'episa', we shall have the construction  $(NP_1) \widehat{V} NP_2 PP$  where, again,  $NP_2$  is the direct object of 'episa' and PP is a prepositional phrase containing the -ma nominal governed by a preposition :

d'episa ton pinoset ja to ksepastrema ton diafonundon

I persuaded Pinocet for the elimination of the  
dissenters

In c Verb and Object NP have become an Objective Genitive, in terms of traditional Grammar but in d we cannot have the same Objective Genitive; instead the verb turns into a PP which functions as an adverb just like the 'na' complements which have an adverbial status instead of an NP status.

From the data I have so far presented it is quite clear, I hope, that Chomsky's proposal concerning tensed clauses is violated. Both 'oti' and 'na' complements (Indicative and 'Subjunctive') may let their subjects move upstairs. It seems then, that items can be extracted from tensed sentences without any subsequent "de-finitization" of the complement clause: the complements remain as they were before (either in the Indicative or in the Subjunctive). Furthermore, as far as raising in Mod. Greek is concerned, we cannot say that what is left behind, after the extraction has occurred, is a truncated clause since the subject is copied onto the verb ending, and its occurrence on the "surface" of a S is optional.

perimenun to jani na kani oli ti δulja

They expect John MM he-do 3sg all the work

They expect John to do all the work.

Though 'to Jani' has been raised to become the object of 'perimenun' the complement clause 'kani oli ti δulja' is ok; as I have pointed out in the Word Order chapter, subject NPs are 'syntactically' optional and the sentence 'kani oli ti δulja' is not in any way truncated since the verb ending of Kan-i implies that the verb has a 3rd person singular as its subject. What is even more interesting is the fact that it is not only the endings that prove the 'non-truncatedness' of the lower clause: sometimes the lower clause does have an explicit subject functioning as a contrastive focus.

perimenun to jani na kani aftos oli ti δulja

They expect John MM does he(Foc.) all the work

They expect John to do all the work

After raising has occurred a coreferential pronominal

subject of the verb 'kani' appears in the lower clause to function as a Focus of contrast. This is in fact what happens with independent clauses where 'ego' I 'esi' you, 'aftos' he etc. appear as 'surface' subjects only as long as they function as Topics or Foci (see chapter on Word Order).

### 3.8.3 Object Raising

What I will try to prove in this section is that verbs like 'thelo' want, and 'perimeno' expect, wait for, can either have a non-raised direct object followed by a 'na' complement clause or, they can have a raised object. In the former case however, the complement clause is not an  $\begin{bmatrix} NP \\ S \end{bmatrix}$  but an  $\begin{bmatrix} Adverb \\ S \end{bmatrix}$ . In other words we have  $\theta_{elo}_1, \text{perimeno}_1$  which are +Object Rais. and  $\theta_{elo}_2, \text{perimeno}_2$  which are -Object Rais. Unfortunately, it is difficult to tell when those two verbs are +Object Rais. and when they are not, as the same sentence can allow of either interpretation. Consider the sentences a and b first:

a perimeno ton jatro na eksetasi ti maria

I expect the doctor MM examine Mary

b perimeno ti maria na exetasti apo ton jatro

I expect Mary MM examine Pass. by the doctor

Sentence b is the passivized version of a. What I am claiming is that there is a three-termed relation in a and b which involves someone expecting (or more precisely waiting for) someone, the person that is expected or waited for, and the purpose of this; thus a can be slightly altered (without any change in the meaning) to show this three-termed relationship: We are talking, of course of ' $\text{perimeno}_2$ ' where no Obj Rais is involved, that is this is only one reading of 'perimeno'.



a' perimeno ton jatro ja na exetasi ti maria

I am waiting doctor for MM examine Mary

Both 'na' and 'ja na' can function as conjunctions .

introducing Adverbial clauses of purpose, that is 'na' looks exactly like to in English. (cf. They came to (in order to) help me). In other words 'perimeno<sub>2</sub>' is a non-catenative verb.

We can divide the a sentence into two semantic clauses

(with the first clause containing two terms and the second clause one).

[perimeno to jatro] [na eksetasi ti maria]

This could not be done with the 'perimeno<sub>1</sub>' that allows of Object Rais.

\*[perimena ton pinoset] [na ksepastrepsi tus diafonundes]

Nor can 'perimeno', have 'ja na' instead of 'na' as witness

\* perimena ton pinoset ja na ksepastrepsi tus diafonundes

Notice that whereas passivization does not change the

semantic content of perimeno<sub>1</sub>, it does so in perimeno<sub>2</sub>: in a above, it is the doctor I am expecting to arrive (I am waiting for) in b, it is Mary. But as it has already been pointed out, this difference of the complements of the two 'perimeno's is not always clearly distinct. Notice the ambiguity of c:

c perimenune oli ton jani na lisi ti diafora

We expect-wait all John MM solve the difference

This can either mean that we are gathered somewhere waiting for John to arrive and solve our difference or, that we are hoping that John will be able to solve the difference:

Actually, in Mod. Greek 'perimeno<sub>1</sub>' is quite often used with an ironical connotation, i.e. I expect someone to do something without realizing that he is not able to do it.

1 That is a 'perimeno' with its direct object can make a full semantic clause whereas a 'perimeno' cannot, since its object is the raised subject of the lower clause.

Only appropriate context can disambiguate c as for example in:

c' perimenumē oli to jani na mas lisi ti diafopa an ke  
kserume oti den ine se thesi na to kani <sup>though</sup>

we know that he is not in a position to do it.

c'' perimenumē oli to jani na mas lisi ti diafora  
ala aftos den fanike akoma

but he has not turned up yet

Even so c' and c'' have not been completely disambiguated;

but normally c' will have the Object Rais. interpretation (perimeno<sub>1</sub>) whereas c'' will be taken to have a non-raised object. Of the two sentences c'' is perhaps the less ambiguous since its continuation 'den fanike akoma', has not turned up yet, refers to the person that is being waited for somewhere; in c'; on the other hand, one can imagine a context in which some people are gathered waiting for somebody to come and help them to solve their problem; a question like 'pjon perimenete edo, who are you waiting here for, would normally give sentence c' a 'perimeno'<sub>2</sub> interpretation whereas a question like 'ti perimenete apo to jani?' what do you expect from John? would require a perimeno<sub>1</sub> interpretation of c'.

A passivized version of c' will contain a perimeno<sub>1</sub> rather a perimeno<sub>2</sub>.

d perimenome oli ti diafora na liθi apo to jani

We all expect the difference to be solved by John  
This is so because one cannot wait for the difference to arrive and be solved. The test of replacing 'na' with 'ja na', in order to, can be applied here. Compare;





semantic clause<sup>1</sup> by itself, that is, we cannot have:

\*[Θelo to peði mu] ] na yini enes meyalos epistimonas]

nor can we substitute 'ja na' for 'na' here as witness:

\* Θelo to peði mu ja na yini enas meyalos epistimonas

This is so because 'Θelo' in this case does not mean need or look for but wish that. Furthermore, 'to peði mu' in the example above is not the real direct object of the verb 'Θelo' as in the case when this verb means need or look for, but it is the subject of the lower clause which has been raised to become the object of 'Θelo'. On the other hand, sentence e, on its nonraising reading, can be divided into two clauses with the higher one making a full semantic clause of the (NP<sub>1</sub>) V NP<sub>2</sub> type, where NP<sub>2</sub> is now the real direct object of V and no Object Raising has occurred this time.

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1. There are analogues between 'perimeno<sub>1</sub>', 'Θelo<sub>1</sub>' and the Restrictive Relatives on the one hand and, between 'perimeno<sub>2</sub>', 'Θelo<sub>2</sub>' and the Nonrestrictive Relatives, on the other. In the former case, there is a tighter relation between main and complement clause to the extent that the former cannot make a full semantic clause by itself; on the contrary in the case of 'perimeno<sub>2</sub>', 'Θelo<sub>2</sub>' and the Nonrestrictive Relatives their main clauses can constitute full semantic clauses on their own. This is so because the relation between main and subordinate clause is not so close this time. Incidentally there are Nonrestrictive Relatives which, like the complements of 'perimeno<sub>2</sub>' and 'Θelo<sub>2</sub>' can function adverbially, (see chapter on Relative Clauses where such an analysis is attempted).



'ime proorismenos' I am bound to and others. We have also noticed that verbs like 'θelo' and 'perimeno' can either be +Object Rais. or -Object Rais. In the former case the complement clause functions as an NP Object; in the latter case, the verb has a direct object (not a raised one).

Owing to the fact that there is a freedom of word order in Mod. Greek, and elements are normally capable of moving across if they are themes or foci, the subject of the lower clause can move upstairs without becoming an object that is, it retains its nominative case:

a''      θelo enas astifilakas na fruri ton ipuryo

I want a policeman(Nom)MM guard the minister

But with θelo<sub>2</sub> this cannot happen. If we apply the test of replacing 'na' with 'ja na' in a'' we shall have an ungrammatical sentence since with θelo<sub>2</sub> we have 'real' indirect objects which have to be in the accusative case:

a''' \* θelo enas astifilakas ja na fruri ton ipuryo

The difference between a'' and a''' is basic and significant. So long as the complement clause is adverbial, and it is unambiguously so if 'ja na' is present, the verb 'θelo' requires a noun as its direct object. But direct objects are always in an oblique case; hence the ungrammaticality of a''' compared to the grammaticality of a'' in which there can be either an accusative (in case of Object Raising) or a nominative, which is due to the freedom of movement of the elements from the lower on to the higher clause for purposes of topicalizing or focussing. This movement is also possible in a'''. But there the element following the verb has to be always in the accusative, no matter where it moves to, since it is the real direct object of 'θelo' and not a Raised Object.

3.8.4 Nonclitic Climbing

Ross(1974) has examined the clitic positioning in some languages and he *maintains* that the Italian clitics can be moved out of the embedded sentence (Ross: 468);

- a P. voleva leggere lo  
P. wanted to read
- b P. lo voleva leggere  
P. It he wanted to read

This upward movement of the clitic he calls 'clitic climbing'. A similar phenomenon can be seen in Mod. Greek:

- a'  $\Theta elo$  na to  $\delta javaso$   
I want MM it to read (I want to read it)
- b' to  $\Theta elo$  na  $\delta javaso$   
It I-want MM read (I want it in order to read)

Concerning Mod. Greek, however, I do not see any clitic climbing at all but simply another case of  $\Theta elo_1$  and  $\Theta elo_2$  in a' and b' respectively. In a',  $\Theta elo_1$  is followed by a complement clause 'na to  $\delta javaso$ '; in b',  $\Theta elo_2$  has a direct object (a clitic) and is followed by an Adverbial clause expressing the purpose for which I want the book.

As in English so in Mod. Greek the verb ' $\delta javazo$ ' read is ~~transitive~~; in a 'to' is a cliticized object of ' $\delta javaso$ ', whereas, in b is a cliticized object of verb ' $\Theta elo$ '. If my analysis is correct then, I must be able to replace  $\Theta elo_2$  by a verb like ' $\alpha \chi orazo$ ' buy. This is possible as witness:

- c to  $\alpha \chi orasa$  na  $\delta javaso$   
I bought it in order to read

Also, the test of 'ja na' substitution applies to b' but not to a':



a'' \*  $\Theta$ elo ja na to  $\delta$ iavaso

b'' to  $\Theta$ elo ja na  $\delta$ iavaso

But notice that both  $\Theta$ elo<sub>1</sub> and  $\Theta$ elo<sub>2</sub> allow a second clitic in the lower sentence, though only in  $\Theta$ elo<sub>2</sub> is the clitic of the lower clause coreferential to the clitic of the higher clause.

b''' to  $\Theta$ elo (ja) na to  $\delta$ javaso ( $\Theta$ elo<sub>2</sub>)

I want it in order to read it

a''' to  $\Theta$ élo na to  $\delta$ javaso

I want it to read it

In a''' the clitic of the higher clause is not coreferential to 'to' but the whole complement clause (Extraposition from Object).

Some arguments have been put forward fairly recently by B. Joseph (1976) in favour of Verb Raising in Modern Greek. In dealing with Causative constructions of Modern Greek he finds that the verb 'kano', do, make, has three surface forms:

1a. kano 1: kano NP<sub>a</sub>-Acc na VP

1b. kano 2: kano na VP NP<sub>a</sub>-NOM

1c. kano 3: kano na VP NP<sub>a</sub>-Acc

I will use his own examples for convenience sake. (2) refers to an intransitive complement verb and (3) to a transitive one. (B. Joseph 1976)

2a. ekana ton jani na fiɣi

I made John MM leave

I sing. Past Acc Acc Subj. 3 sing

2b. ekana na fiɣi o janis (Nominative)

I made MM . leave John

2c. ekana na fiɣi ton jani

I made leave John (Accusative)

3a. ekana ton jani na aɣorasi afta ta mila

Acc MM buy these the apples

I made John buy these apples

3b. ekana na aɣorasi afta ta mila o janis (Nom.)

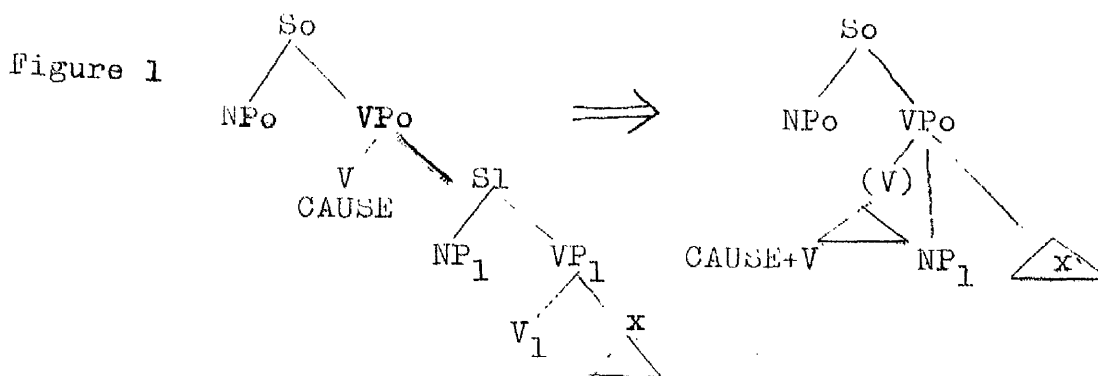
Same meaning as 3a.

3c. ekana na aɣorasi afta ta mila ton jani (Acc)

Same meaning as 3a.

He then goes on to make the claim that kano 3, the (c) sentences, are instances of Verb Raising, a rule which takes a bisentential clause structure as input and produces a simplex-sentence output by raising the lower verb

up to the verb of causation (here kano), with subsequent pruning of the S-node which dominates the embedded sentence complement:



I am extremely skeptical about this sort of analysis for the following reasons: There is no difference in the degree of grammaticality and acceptability between 'kano' and verbs like 'θelo', want and 'piθo', persuade, convince, in which, as B. Joseph maintains, no Verb Raising occurs but instead there is a shift rule moving an element rightwards. These three verbs differ, however, in the degree of Subject to Object Raisability. In 'kano', Raising is optional and quite common; in 'θelo' it is optional again but less common; in 'piθo' there is no raising but the verb is transitive and it always requires its direct object:

- (4) { episa ti lula na filisi ton saki  
I persuaded Lula to kiss Sakis  
episa ton saki na filiθi apo tin lula  
I persuaded Sakis to be kissed by Lula

The object of the matrix verb can move either leftwards to become topic with a clitic (ti lula tin episa) or topicalised focus without a clitic (ti lula episa); or it can move rightwards provided it does not separate *the*

subordinate verb from its object:

episa na filisi ton saki, ti lula

(5) I persuaded to kiss Sakis, Lula

I persuaded Lula to kiss Sakis

Thus Joseph's sentence:

episa na fiyun i fili mu ton petro

(6) I persuaded MM . leave the friends of me  
the Peter

is wrongly translated by him as: I persuaded my friends to avoid Peter.

According to his version the structure here is as follows

(7) Subject-V matrix na V-Subject Object  
S

This is impossible not only because 'piθo' has to have an object, as I claim, but also because fiyun can never be a transitive verb, which makes all his examples with the verb '~~fiw~~ yo' (fiyun) as such, totally unacceptable. The structure of (6) is rather like this, in other words:

Subject-V Object na V Subject  
matrix

and later a subsequent movement has taken the object of matrix clause and has placed it at the end of the sentence. The meaning of the sentence (6) therefore is: 'I persuaded Peter that my friends leave', which is still quite awkward, though not unacceptable, owing to the fact that there is no explicit agent in the matrix clause; the underlying meaning being that I persuaded Peter to let them go or to send them away, or to get rid of them ('i fili mu, my friends), in which case 'i fili mu' is the lower clause subject.

Then he goes on to point out that the non-shifted

form of 'piθo' takes as its complement the intransitive 'fevγo' that is the one that means go away and not avoid.

(8) episa ton petro na fiγun i fili mu

I persuaded Peter MM leave my friends  
the same meaning as my own interpretation of  
the above (6)

Having made these assumptions about 'piθo' he goes on to explain it as being due to a transderivational constraint on the shift rule, blocking its outputs that are identical with outputs producible by some other process (B. Joseph 1976, 155)

What is very crucial here is that basing his assumptions on faulty data (the non-existent transitivity of the verb 'fiγun'<sup>1</sup>) he postulates an imaginary constraint which, he goes on to say, 'does not apply to the kano 3 construction', so that in the following example the lower verb has only the transitive reading:

(9) ekana na fiγi ton petro

I made Peter leave

Let us now compare the properties of kano 3 with those of kano 1 and see if they really differ, as B. Joseph maintains. Passivisation and Reflexivization apply equally well to both types of 'kano'.

(10)	{	kano 1: ekana to pavlo na apoliθi
		apo tin ōulja tu
Passivization		I made Paul to be dismissed from his job.
		kano 3: ekana na apoliθi apo tin ōulja tu ton pavlo

<sup>1</sup> 'fevγo is always an intransitive verb. Thus Joseph's(?): 'Oelo na fiγi ton petro' can never mean I want someone to avoid Peter, as Joseph maintains.

kano 1: ekana tin eleni na proseksi kalitera  
ton eafto tis

I made Helen take a better care of  
herself

Reflexiv-

ization kano 3: ekana na proseksi kalitera ton eafto  
tis, tin eleni

What kano 3 needs is a comma intonation before the last element of the complement clause is pronounced. Equally acceptable sentences can obtain if we substitute 'piθo', persuade or 'θelo', want for the kano 1, 2 above, so that there is no difference in either between kano 1 and 3 or between kano 1, 3 and verbs like 'piθo' or 'θelo'

Furthermore, since Verb Raising produces simplex sentences (see figure 1), non-reflexive object pronoun coreferential with the subject of 'kano' should produce unacceptable sentences, which is not the case.

- a. { o fifis ekane na proseksi monaxa afton, tin efterpi  
Fifis made MM . . . pay attention only him, Euterpe  
Fifis made Euterpe pay attention to him, only
- b. { ekana na pistepsi emena, ton fukara ton Lori  
I made MM believe me the poor the Loris  
I made poor Loris believe me

The underlined element should be pronounced with a high pitch to be followed by comma intonation before the last element of the sentence. On the other hand, reflexivization, which would be what one might have expected from the Verb Raising, produces unacceptable sentences.

- (13)\* ekana na pistepsi ton eafto mu ton fukara ton lori  
I made MM believe, myself poor Loris  
I made poor Loris believe myself

Finally, pace Joseph, a clitic pronoun object can intervene between the higher verb (kano 3) and a lower one, which it oughtn't if they formed a single constituent:

- { o nikos ekane na ton ɔiri to jo tu ton stavro
- { Nick made MM him beat the son of his Stavros
- { Nick made Stavros beat his son
- { ekana na ton pandrefti me to zori ti meri
- { I made MM him marry with the force Mary
- { I made Mary marry him by force

Thus, I reject the verb merging as an unnecessary complication in the belief that kano 3 behaves like any other complement verb and constitutes an entity on its own. There is no clause union as B. Joseph maintains, since not only clitics but also adverbs can intervene between kano 3 and the lower verb, as witness from the following examples, the first of which is borrowed from Joseph's, who has marked it ungrammatical:

- (14) o petros kani siniθos na fiyi ta mesanixta ton jani  
 Peter makes usually MM leave the midnight the John  
 Peter usually makes John leave at midnight

- (15) i θja pinelopi kani kaθe mera na vlastimai ton  
 fukara ton andra tis  
 Aunt Penelope makes every day MM swear the  
 poor the husband of her  
 Aunt Penelope makes her poor husband swear every day

There is a positive observation made by B. Joseph in connection with the order of the elements in the three 'kano' constructions, which seems to apply to all complement sentences. A variation in the order of the

elements does not imply that different events are referred to: there is only a semantic difference in focus and emphasis or what I should call the thematic structure of the sentence. The question, however, remains; Is there any difference between a Nominative-at-the-end and an Accusative, that is a difference between kano 2 and kano 3? I have tried to prove that there isn't; at least there is no verb raising as Joseph maintains; however, as far as the difference between Nominative and Accusative is concerned I can only offer intuitions. Nominative is usually associated with the Subject and the Agent of the sentence, whereas Accusative is associated with the Object. It is possible that the speaker regards the Subject of the constituent clause not as somebody who is made to do something, but rather as one who does something, when he uses the nominative. In other words, the nominative makes the role of the agent more distinct while the accusative underlines a closer relationship between the causer or instigator (the subject of the higher clause) and the agent (the subject of the lower clause). This is shown through Object Raising; for no matter where an accusative has moved, there is still a closeness between it and the subject-verb of the higher clause.



3.9.1 Extraposition and FSP,

Extraposition in complement clauses can be viewed as a device of arranging the elements of a sentence in a certain order for communication purposes. It has the effect of removing an element from its normal position and placing it towards the end of a sentence.

We have already pointed out that though Mod. Greek is a basically SVO language, other word orders are quite possible (see Word Order chap.). Now consider the following sentences:

a na sikonese proi ine belas

Getting up in the morning is a nuisance

b ine belas na sikonese proi

It is a nuisance to get up in the morning

a' oti den iparxun lefta ine veveo

That there is no money is certain

b' ine veveo oti den iparxun lefta

It is certain that there is no money

The underlined complements are 'clausal subjects'. In a, a' the order is: Subject Predicate; in b, b', it is Predicate Subject. Given that in Mod. Greek subject NPs are optional, the extraposed sentences (b, b') do not have to have any 'anticipatory' subjects like the 'it' of the extraposed English sentence; besides, the subject is still there; only that it now occupies the rear and not the front of the sentence.

Following the analysis adopted in the Word Order chapter, I will offer a functional explanation for this phenomenon: the postponement of the clausal subject is in accordance with the principles of FSP whereby old or known information

tends to occupy initial positions in the sentence whereas new information is placed towards the end of it. What I am claiming then is that the extraposed sentence constitutes the Focus of information..

Besides the FSP, there is another principle that the extraposed sentences comply with; this is what Quirk et al have called the 'end-weight principle' and Bever has named the 'hard last' rule. According to this rule, in discourse we start with what is easy for our addressee to comprehend and end up with what constitutes the more complex part of our message.

As a native speaker of Greek I don't see much difference between, say, a' and b' above; but as I have tested with some foreign learners of Mod. Greek, b' is much easier to grasp than a'.

The FSP and the end-weight principle apply only so long as extraposition occurs. But there are cases in which though the complement clause is placed towards the end it does not constitute the focus of the sentence but has a parenthetical status. This is what TGers call 'Right Dislocation'. What distinguishes extraposition from Dislocation is the fact that in the latter there is a comma in between the predicate and the clausal subject which marks falling intonation.:

ine fovero, na tros to pilafi me ta xerja su.

It's awful, eating the rice with your hands

This is different from the extraposed:

ine fovero na tros to pilafi me ta xerija su

where no comma separates the clausal subject from the rest of the sentence.

'Extraposition of a clausal object', on the other hand, has the effect of pronominalizing the clausal object and placing the pronoun (clitic) in the higher clause:

to paraðéxome oti esfala

it I admit that I was wrong

This is not surprising since 'oti esfala' is both an NP and a clause. Its noun-status can be proved by the fact that it can take a definite article and retain the clitic as well

to paraðéxome to oti esfala  
clit. Def. Art.

it I admit the that I was wrong

Thus, the clausal object 'oti esfala' behaves like any other object NP. So long as it is not the focus the verb, it can have an object clitic which is coreferential to the clausal object and, as we know from the chapter on the Word Order, an object NP can have a coreferential pronominal cliticized to its verb so long as this object is not focus; what this means is that the above sentences have the element 'paraðexome' as their focus and it is this element that receives the intonation peak. In fact, the same thing would happen if, instead of the complement clause 'oti' esfala', we had the -ma nominal 'sfalma' mistake

to paraðéxome to sfalma mu

It I admit my mistake

Again 'paraðexome' is the focus and 'to' is an anaphoric marker coreferential to the nominal 'sfalma' mistake which constitutes known non-focal information.

This kind of extraposition, however, does not apply to all sentences with a clausal object; as we shall see in a subsequent section, it does so only in the case of a special semantic class of predicates (see section on Assertives).

The Kiparskys have observed that the form it-that-S is generally acceptable with factive predicates and unacceptable with non-factives; this has led then to the dubious conclusion that 'it' is the pronominalization of 'the fact'. Could we postulate a 'fact deletion' for Mod.Greek too? Actually there are some examples where 'to' plays some role as far as the factivity of some verbs concerned:

a perimena oti Θa erxósuna

I was expecting that you would be coming

b (to) perímena oti Θa erxosuna

I knew it that you would be coming

Sentence a has normal intonation pattern with the accent falling on the last item 'erxosuna'; the complement clause 'oti Θa erxosuna' is counterfactual here that is, the complement is not presupposed. But in b where the accent falls on 'perimene' which is normally, though not always preceded by the clitic 'to', the truth of the complement clause is presupposed and the heavily stressed 'perimena' changes its meaning into something like 'iksera' I knew. Notice however that a cannot normally take the clitic 'to' since in this sentence the clausal object is also focus:

a' \* to perimena oti Θa erxósuna

But although, I have claimed that in a the higher verb is -Factive whereas in b it is +Factive, I do not see any direct relation between 'to' and factivity. On the contrary, I take 'to' to be the pronominalization of the whole complement clause which functions as a noun; when the complement clause is the focus of the sentence it cannot have a coreferential clitic just as no Object NP can have a coreferential clitic

if it is the focus<sup>I</sup>. Compare:

- c      to paraδexome to sfalma mu  
              focus
- d    \*   to paraδexome to sfalma mu  
                                  focus
- e      paraδexome to sfalma mu  
                                  focus

'na' complements can have coreferential clitics too, provided that the higher verb is the focus of the sentence:

to θelo na erθo mazi su ala den m afinun

It I want MM to come with you but not me let

I want it to go with you but they won't let me

Thus both factive and non-factive can allow extraposition from object.

There is a class of predicates that does not allow object extraposition. Those are the predicates whose complement clause does not behave like an NP Object. Compare for instance:

- a      anagasa ton pinoset na paritiθi  
          I forced Pinocet to resign
- b      perimena ton pinoset na paretιθι  
          I expected Pinocet to resign

The complement of sentence a does not behave like an object; in the first place only b can have its complement questioned with the interrogative pronoun 'ti' what?

Question:      ti perimenes?  
                  what did you expect?

---

I. I shall have to repeat here that in some cases (contrastive anaphora) this may happen; however, this Object NP has to have been front-shifted, that is to have become a topicalized focus.

Answer:        ton pinoset na paretioi  
                 Pinocet to resign

Question: \* ti anagases?  
what did you force?

Answer: ton pinoset na paretii

In the second place, nominalization is possible only in b, if we expect to have 'real' NPs in place of the complement clauses.

a' \* anagasa tin paretisi tu pinoset  
I forced the resignation of Pinocet

b' perimena tin paretisi tu pinocet  
I expected the resignation of Pinocet

But if we nominalize a, the complement clause will turn into a prepositional phrase:

anagasa ton pinoset se paretisi  
I forced Pinocet to resignation

We have here to agree with Rosenbaum (1968) and adopt his distinction between noun phrase complements and verb phrase complements. More evidence is given by the fact that only what behaves like an NP can take the definite article:

c to na paretiei o pinoset, to perimena  
Article clit.

c' \* to na paretioi o pinoset, to episa

In c the complement clause has been 'topicalized' like an ordinary Object NP preceded by a definite article; in c', this is impossible.

Since extraposition from object is simply cliticization of this (clausal) object we should exclude complement sentences which are not real NPs. That is why a' is ungrammatical, unlike b'', as witness:

a'' \*to anagasa ton pinoset na paretioi

b'' to perimena o pinoset na paretioi

Note that in b'' Pinocet has not been raised into object position. It has remained the subject of the lower clause and it keeps its nominative case. However, for many speakers Object Rais. can co-occur with extraposition as witness:

b''' to perimena, ton pinoset na paretioi  
Acc.

This NP-ness of the complement clause is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for extraposition. Predicates like 'nomizo' think and 'θaro' guess take 'oti' complement which are always <sup>NP</sup><sub>S</sub> but cannot undergo extraposition from object:

d \*to nomizo oti θa exume polemo

it I think that we shall have war

d' \*to θaro oti θa exume polemo

it I guess that we shall have war.

The answer to this problem will be given in the section dealing with the Assertive predicates. As a matter of fact 'nomizo' and 'θaro' are the weakest Assertives in Mod Greek. This is the reason why they cannot have Extraposition from Object, as we shall see.

### 3.9.2 Extraposition with Bisentential Verbs

Emonds (1970) discusses extraposition in sentences with bisentential verbs such as prove, indicate, show, suggest, mean etc. and claims that an ad hoc condition should be placed to prevent Extraposition from the subject position in bisentential verbs since it yields ungrammatical sentences:

a     That Jim Carter lifted the embargo proves  
         that Americans will never learn

b     \* It proves that the Americans will never learn  
         that Jim Carter lifted the embargo

The reason for this ungrammaticality is that the VP of bisentential verbs contains a 'doubly-filled node' that is, the VP node dominates two sentences i.e. 'that Jim Carter lifted the embargo' and 'that Americans will never learn'.

Modern Greek allows this kind of extraposition provided that the complement is preceded by the definite article 'to' which is optional, for some speakers, if the sentence is not extraposed:

a'     (to)oti o tzimi karter ire to embarko apoðiknii  
         That Jim Carter lifted the embargo proves  
         oti i amerikani ðen tha valun pote mjalo  
         that Americans will never learn

b'     apoðiknii oti i amerikani ðen tha valun pote mjalo  
         It proves that the Americans will never learn  
         to            oti o tzimi karter ire to embargo  
         Article that Jim Carter lifted the embargo

Ross constrains then that a bisentential V cannot end up with both complements on the same side of that V (Ross letter to Georgia Green) seems to be a language particular



one; concerning now the obligatory use of the definite article 'to', this is not limited to bisentential verbs. There are some factive verbs followed by 'pu' complements which have as an alternative complementizer the 'oti' preceded by the article 'to': they are mostly emotive predicates.

c	me paraksenevi	
	me it surprises	
	me ekplisi	
	me it amazes	to oti/ pu o tzimi karter ire
	me enθusiazι	to embargo
	me it enthuses	

The ungrammaticality of b is accounted for by an output condition proposed by Ross which states that sentences containing an internal NP which exhaustively dominates an S are unacceptable (Ross, 1967:57).

Leaving aside the fact that even the ungrammaticality of b is questionable (since some native speakers find nothing wrong with it, as far as I know), I shall deal with the Greek sentence b'. In b' there is no "anticipatory" subject it and since what we are dealing with are a clausal subject of the (Det)  $\swarrow$  <sup>NP</sup>  $\searrow$  S type and a clausal object of the NP  $\swarrow$  <sup>S</sup>  $\searrow$  type, we have two different word orders a SVO(a') which is unmarked, and a VOS(b), depending on which one (the clausal object or the clausal subject) is the focus of the sentence: in a' it is the clausal object in b', it is the clausal subject.

Note that this does not apply if the clausal subject has a parenthetical reading since in this case it is not the focus of the sentence.

What should be noticed here is the use of the definite article; clausal subjectstake the article oftener than clausal objects because the former tend to be themes very much oftener than the latter; yet, even clausal objects receive an article and a coreferential clitic behaving like an ordinary NP object which is 'topicalized'. Compare:

d . ema@a oti pandreftikes

I learned that you got married

d' to oti pandreftikes to ema0a  
Article clit  
The that you got married I learned

I learned it that you got married

In d' the clausal object 'oti pandreftikes' has been topicalized: it is known information and the higher verb 'ema@a' is new (focus). On the other hand in d'', where we have normal intonation and the underlined 'pandreftikes' is the focus, the article is unacceptable

d'' \* ema@a to oti pandreftikes

d'' would be ok. only if the focus was elsewhere, ie, on 'ema0a'.

Finally, the thesis that the extraposition of bisentential verbs is a matter of word-order freedom can also be proved by the fact that other arrangements are also possible; the sentence below for instance has a clausal Object  $V^{\circ}$  clausal

Subject order i.e., the sentential complements comply with the freedom of word order that characterizes Mod. Greek, as if they were ordinary (non-sentential) subject or object NPs.

(to)oti den tha valun pote mjalto i amerikani

The that the Americans will never learn

apodiknii to oti o tzimi karter ire to embargo  
proves the that Jim Carter lifted the embargo.

### 3.10 The Semantics of Complement Clauses

#### 3.10.1 Mod Greek Factives

In their pioneering article "Fact" the Kiparskys pointed out that the choice of the complement type can be predicted from a number of semantic factors the most important of which is the presupposition by the speaker that the complement of the sentence expresses a true proposition .

The sections which follow will examine a few Modern Greek verbs in the light of this theory. The Kiparskys give an exhaustive list of Factive and non-Factive predicates, which I do not intend to repeat here. However, I will have to explain what is meant by "Factive" and "non-Factive" so as to enable the reader, not yet acquainted with these terms, to follow this section.

Factive predicates can only occur when the speaker presupposes that the propositional subject or object of the predicate is factually true; non-Factive on the other hand, occur when the speaker merely asserts or believes the proposition to be true without presupposing its factuality.

Consider the following sentences:

- (1) a. I regret that he has lost everything
- b. I think that he has lost everything

Depending on the factuality of the higher verbs regret and think, the proposition he has lost everything does not have the same force in (b) as it has in (a).

In (b) the embedded complement clause, that is, the 'proposition', is not presupposed to be true and the speakers' attitude towards its truth may change when the

main predicate, the higher verb think is negated, unlike (a) which is not affected by negation at all, because the proposition he has lost everything remains constant.

(2) a. I do not regret that he has lost everything

b. I do not think that he has lost everything

Also, there is something else in which Factives differ from non-Factives, namely "Negative Raising" (see R. Lakoff 1969 among others).

This is a transformational rule which derives (a) from (b) in (3)

(3) a. I don't think he is at home now<sup>1</sup>

b. I think he is not at home now

by 'promoting' or 'raising' the negative particle not from the lower sentence up to the higher one without affecting the meaning. This rule, though it applies to only a small group of non-Factives can never apply to any of the Factives, that is, (a) and (b) in (4) are not synonymous:

(4) a. I don't regret that he's lost everything

b. I regret that he hasn't lost everything

### 3.10.2 Factivity and Stress

I shall now go on to examine a Modern Greek verb in connection with these facts; it is the impersonal expression 'fenete', it seems. Note that its English equivalent belongs to the non-Factives (see Kiparskys, 1971).

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<sup>1</sup> Whether (3)a and (3)b are identical in meaning is debatable. It has been pointed out that sentences like (3)a express less certainty on the part of the speaker than (3)b. (notably by Jespersen and by Bolinger).

- (5) a. fenete oti iparxi misos anamesa tus

It seems that (there) exists hatred between them

There seems to be hatred between them

- b. fenete na iparxi misos anamesa tus

The underlined words 'oti' and 'na' are the basic Modern Greek complementizers: 'oti' is followed by Indicative and 'na' by 'Subjunctive'.

It appears that in both (a) and (b) the speaker merely asserts or believes the proposition 'iparxi misos anamesa tus' to be true without actually presupposing that it is true. However, if the first element in (a) which is the verb 'fenete', is heavily stressed, that is, if it receives the intonation peak, then this predicate can become Factive, thus rendering 'iparxi misos anamesa tus' a true proposition. In other words (a) in 5 with the underlined fenete serving as "the point of maximal inflection of the pitch contour" has become a Factive predicate .

- (5) a. fénete oti iparxi misos anamesa tus

It is self-evident that there exists hatred  
between them

The following sentence can be semantically well-formed only if the verb is heavily stressed, because the negative continuation in (6) implies commitment to the truth of the proposition:

- (6) fénete oti iparxi misos anamesa tus,  $\delta$ en xriazete  
na mu to pis

It's self-evident that there exists hatred between  
them, you don't need to tell me.

For some speakers a negated (5)a can be ambiguous.

- (7)  $\delta$ en fenete oti iparxi misos anamesa tus

depending on whether the predicate 'fenete' is taken to mean

it is self-evident (Factive) or it seems (non-Factive).<sup>1</sup>  
 On the other hand, no such ambiguity arises with (5)b where 'fenete' is followed by na + Subjunctive: there, no proposition is presupposed and the speaker's attitude towards the truth of the proposition 'iparxi misos anamesa tus' may change if the higher verb fenete is negated.

(5) b'  $\delta\epsilon\eta$  fenete na iparxi misos anamesa tus

There doesn't seem to be hatred between them

And note that (5)b is synonymous to its Non-Negative-Raised (5)b", which proves the Non-Factive status of the construction "fenete+na+Subjunctive" beyond dispute.

(5) b" fenete na min iparxi misos anamesa tus

There seems to be no hatred between them

More evidence for the existence of two 'fenete' can be adduced from the following syntactic facts:

(a) with fenete<sub>2</sub> extraposition is possible: it can also occur with the complement fronted and preceded by a definite article too as witness :

a. to oti iparxi misos metaksi tus fenete

The that exist hatred between them is self-evident

With fenete<sub>1</sub> we can have complement fronting, but this time the main verb is reduced to a parenthetical status

b. iparxi misos anamesa tus, fenete

There exists hatred between them, it seems

The 'fenete' of (b) is semantically weak. It is unstressed and is pronounced with a fall unlike the 'fenete' of (a) which is heavily stressed and pronounced with a high pitch. That the parenthetical status involves

1. In fact this is only partly true; an 'oti' complement of a negated 'fenete' is normally factive. The nonfactive 'fenete', when negated, turns from a weak Assertive into a Nonassertive and all Nonassertive-Nonfactive<sub>2</sub> take a 'na' complement.

weakening of the verb can be seen from other verbs as well.  
cf.

c. The Tories will win, I believe.

d. I believe that the Tories will win

Intuitively, one can say in (c) the speaker is more reserved as far as the truth of the complement is concerned in both pairs (a,b) and (c,d). We observe that only the non-parenthetical matrix verbs allow negation

a' to oti iparxi misos metaksi tus den fenete

b' \* iparxi misos metaksi tus, den fenete

c' . \*The Tories will win, I don't believe

d' I don't believe that the Tories will win

As J. Hooper 1975, pointed out, in the case of parenthetical clauses "the complement clause is given more importance because it constitutes the main assertion of the sentence". Assertive predicates are affirmative in nature: they imply that the speaker or subject of a sentence has an affirmative opinion regarding the truth value of the complement proposition. Hence the difficulties of negating parenthetical main predicates whose semantic content has been reduced with a subsequent strengthening of the semantic content of the complement clause.

Another interesting fact concerning the two 'fenete' predicates is their pronominalization: parenthetical complements like 'fenete<sub>1</sub>' pronominalize with 'etsi', so; non-parenthetical like 'fenete<sub>2</sub>' with 'afto', it, as witness:

Speaker A: o janis ine trela erotevmenos me ti maria

John is madly in love with Mary

Speaker B(a): étsi fenete (non-Pactive)

so it seems

(b): aftó, fenete (Pactive)

This, seems

This is self-evident,

The conclusion drawn from this observation is that whereas 'fenete<sub>1</sub>' (non-Pactive) has no overt subject (Modern Greek has no expletives like there, it, do etc.), 'fenete<sub>2</sub>', the Pactive predicate, can take one: 'aftó', 'fenete' shows that 'fenete' is Pactive unless 'aftó' and 'fenete' are separated by comma intonation, in which case 'aftó' is the subject of something else and 'fenete' is used parenthetically e.g.

aftó, fenete, simveni

This, it seems, happens

This is obviously what happens

### 3.10.3 Focus and Presupposition

Relevant to these facts is the focus-Presupposition theory, postulated first by Halliday and then by Chomsky<sup>1</sup> and Jackendoff. Chomsky, in particular, suggests that the Focus of a sentence (what is used to denote the information in the sentence that is assumed by the speaker not to be shared by him and the hearer) IS DETERMINED BY THE SURFACE STRUCTURE AS A PHRASE CONTAINING THE MAIN STRESS. On the other hand, Presupposition is the information that is assumed to be shared by both the speaker and the hearer. Thus in (7) the capitalized MARY is the Focus, the new information that the speaker imparts to the hearer, and which, so far, had not shared with him. On the other hand,  
 1See relevant section on Word Order chapter pp 33-36.



it is presupposed as true that somebody broke the vase ,  
that is, this is old information, information already  
shared by both the speaker and the hearer.

(7) It was MARY who broke the vase  
MARY here constitutes the intonation centre by virtue of  
its being new, non-presupposed information.

Something similar happens with the predicate fenete  
which, when it becomes the intonation centre of the  
sentence (Focus) renders the proposition 'iparxi misos  
anamesa tus' factually true (presupposition).

A transformational analysis of the Modern Greek  
lexicon should provide two entries for the item 'fenete',  
say fenete<sup>1</sup> and fenete<sup>2</sup>:

(8) a. fenete<sup>1</sup> - FACTIVE = seems

b. fenete<sup>2</sup> + FACTIVE = be self-evident, be clear<sup>1</sup>

However, things are more complicated. 'fenete' is often  
preceded by a clitic pronoun which is in the Genitive  
case:

(9) mu fenete

It seems to me (lit: of-me it seems)

su fenete

It seems to you (lit: of-you it seems)

tu fenete

It seems to him (lit: of-him it seems)

mas fenete

It seems to us (lit: us it seems)

---

<sup>1</sup> I am not happy with the gloss of 'fenete', because, though  
Kiparsky puts 'be clear' in the Factive list, others do  
not (Hooper, Huddleston). On the other hand, I am  
absolutely certain that 'fenete' belongs to the pure  
Factives. The most crucial evidence is that it can take  
'pu' ('fénete pu ine kurasmenos', it is self-evident that  
he is tired) and 'pu' is the Factive complementizer par  
excellence (see section on Assertive Predicates).

sas fenete

It seems to you (lit: you it seems)

tus fenete

It seems to them (lit: them it seems)

If we repeat (6) here by attaching the clitic pronoun mu to the verb 'fenete', we will have an unacceptable sentence, as witness;

- (10) \* mu fenete oti iparxi misos anamesa tus  
       ōen xriazete na mu to pis

This is due to the fact that mu, which in this case is what Postal calls a logical subject, re-establishes the status of 'fenete' as a non-Factive predicate, and as a result there is an inconsistency between the sentence 'mu fenete oti iparxi misos anamesa tus' where the speaker merely asserts, and the sentence 'ōen xriazete na mu pis', which presupposes what has preceded. No matter how heavily we stress 'fenete', it cannot become Factive so long as it takes the clitic pronoun; indeed the heavier we stress it, the more non-Factive it becomes, thus expressing uncertainty on the part of the speaker to even a greater degree.

- (11) mu fenete oti iparxi misos anamesa tus, ōen ime  
       siguros

It seems (to me) that there is hatred between  
 them (but) I'm not certain

Yet even with a clitic pronoun, fenete cannot be freed from Factivity in spite of what we have said so far. We said that the clitic pronoun mu constitutes the logical subject. This is semantically true, since the sentence:

mu fenete oti iparxi misos anamesa tus

can be paraphrased as '(ego nomizo oti iparxi....' I think

there is hatred between them.

Similarly: i litsa mu ine poli andipa<sup>0</sup>is

Litsa is very antipathetic to me

can become: (exo) andipa<sup>0</sup>o poli ti kitsa

I dislike Litsa a lot

'mu' and 'exo' seem to both perform the same semantic function:  
that of the logical Subject.<sup>1</sup>

Now consider the following pair of sentences:

(12)a. tu fenete oti ine sarantaris

It is evident that he is forty

b. 6en tu fenete oti ine sarantaris

It is not evident that he is forty.

Here the proposition 'ine sarantaris' remains constant under negation: the predicate fenete is Factive again in spite of the clitic tu. There is a question to be posed here, however: can we regard the tu of (12) as the logical Subject of the verb fenete? I would say we can't. Clearly, there is a difference between the mu of 'mu fenete oti iparxi misos...' and the tu of 'tu fenete oti ine sarantaris' in that in the former mu though not an actor or agent in the strict sense of the word does show that the subject is expressing an opinion and that the verb is active in a broader sense; tu, however, shows that an opinion is expressed about it by the others which are here represented by the speaker himself: mu is active in the sense that it is the expresser of an opinion; tu is passive in that it is the recipient of an opinion: we can say that the tu of the Factive is again, in some sense, the "logical object" of the sentence.

<sup>1</sup> Logical subjects have been discussed in the chapter on Clitics.

From a pragmatic point of view in the case of mu being the logical Subject, the sentence is Subject-oriented whereas in the case of tu being what I tentatively call the logical object the sentence is speaker-oriented. Notice that the logical subject (clitic) of the matrix clause should, in this case, always be coreferential with the subject of the complement clause to render this meaning, that is, 'tu fenete oti ine' but not ~~#~~'tu fénete oti ime'.

I will now examine some more verbs in connection with factivity; before I do that, however, let me mention what the Kiparskys have observed concerning some "Factive independent" verb like expect for instance. Consider the following sentences borrowed from their work:

- (13) a. I had expected that there would be a big  
turn-out (but only three people came)  
b. I had expected it that there would be a  
big turn-out (but this is ridiculous -  
get some more chairs)

According to the Kiparskys, it serves as an optional reduction of the fact; thus, in (b) it is suggested that the expectation has been fulfilled whereas (a) is neutral in that respect.<sup>1</sup>

We can now proceed with our Modern Greek examples:

- (14) a. (to) perimena oti  $\Theta a$  erxotane/ $\Theta a$  er $\Theta i$   
It I-expected that MM come Imperf./MM Perf.  
I expected it that he would come  
b. (to) iksera oti  $\Theta a$  erxotane/ $\Theta a$  er $\Theta i$

---

<sup>1</sup> What has escaped the Kiparskys is, no doubt, the fact that intonation plays a very important role in their examples.

It I-knew that MM come Imperf./MM Perf.

I knew it that he would come

c. (to) fandastika oti ʘa erxotane/ʘa erʘi

It I-imagined that MM come Imperf./MM Perf.

I imagined that he would come

d. (to) ipeʘesa oti ʘa erxotane/ʘa erʘi

It I-supposed that MM come Imperf./MM Perf.

I supposed it that he would come

In all (14) the underlined verb is the intonation centre of the sentence; what is more important, in all we presuppose that the proposition 'ʘa erxótane' expresses something that has been fulfilled despite the fact that the construction made up of the Future particle 'ʘa' and the Imperfective tense of the verb normally express counter-factuality (cf. Unreal in Conditional sentences, as in 'an ixe kero, ʘa erxotane', if he had time, he would come). Consider the possible augmentation of the above sentences with an appropriate continuation.

(14) b'. to iksera oti ʘa erxotane ke piʘa na ton ipodexʘo

I knew it that he would be coming and I  
went to welcome him

(14).\*b" to iksera oti ʘa erxotane ala den fanike

I knew it that he would be coming but he  
did not turn up

In (14) b" the added sentence contradicts what is preceded

Note that, in my speech at least, (a), (b) and (c) can stand without the clitic 'to' which is the equivalent of the English it (see the example from the Kiparskys above).

The diagnostic test of negation (and question) applies in all (14):

- |          |    |            |                 |
|----------|----|------------|-----------------|
|          | a. | perimena   |                 |
|          | b. | iksera     |                 |
| δέν (to) | c. | fandastika | oti θa erxotane |
| Neg.     |    |            |                 |
| not      | d. | ipeθesa    |                 |

The presence of the negative particle by way of which negation is formed in Modern Greek does not affect the proposition of the complement clause: 'oti θa erxotane', that he would come, is still a true proposition actually meaning 'exi erθi', he has come. This is a typical case of an embedded sentence whose meaning is affected by the matrix verb and by intonation. As I have pointed out, 'θa' + parataktikos always expresses counter-factuality, except in cases like those of (14).

Also it should be mentioned here that 'fandazome', imagine, and more particularly 'ipoθeto', suppose, are not "Factive independent" but constitute non-factive predicates in Modern Greek.

Conversely now, without the clitic 'to' and without the intonation peak falling on the higher verbs, the proposition expressed by the complement is taken to be counter-factual, i.e. the coming has not been fulfilled. The intonation peak here is on 'erxotane' (normal intonation)

- (15) a. perimena  
 b. iksera  
 c. fandastika  
 d. ipeθesa
- oti θa erxótane/θa érθi

All (15) can go on: 'ala δέν fanike', but he did not turn up, unlike (14) where such augmentation would not produce well-

formed sentences, as we have seen.

The last verb I propose to deal with is 'pistevo' believe. Neither stress nor the Past tense can factivize this verb as witness:

- (16) a to pistepsa oti Θa erxotane  
 b pistepsa oti Θa erxotane

In neither sentence is the speaker committed to the truth of the complement 'Θa erxotane'; the continuation 'ala δen fanike', but he didn't turn up, fits into both. There is a difference in meaning but it has nothing to do with factivity; 'to' is anaphoric and refers to someone else's making me believe the complement proposition 'Θa erxotane'; on the other hand, b implies that I thought so myself. Thus, in a 'pistepsa' means I believed the claim that whereas in b it means I held the belief that.

Can we say, then, that with such a non-Factive par excellence as the predicate 'pistevo', no factivity considerations can interfere? Consider the following sentences:

- (17) a. to pistevi oti ipoferis ke Θa kani oti bori  
 He believes it that you are suffering and he  
 will do all he can

- (17)b. δen to pistevi oti ipoferis; nomizi oti ipokrinese  
 He doesn't believe it that you are suffering; he  
 thinks that you are feigning (illness).

There is a difference here between speaker and subject of (17).

On one reading, however, the speaker commits himself to the truth of the proposition 'ipoferis' and (17) means he believes (doesn't believe) what I know as true. For the speaker, then, the proposition 'ipoferis' is on one reading a true proposition.

TABLE I  
SEMANTIC CLASSES OF PREDICATES  
NONFACTIVE  
Assertive

Weak Assertives		<u>Strong Assertives</u>			
		(a)		(b)	
θaro	guess	anaynorizo	acknowledge	ime veveos	be certain
nomizo	think	anafero	mention	ime siyuros	be positive
fandazome	imagine	δiatinome	maintain	ine fanero	be obvious
fenome	seem	δilono	state	ipoloyizo	calculate
ipoθeto	suppose	epimeno	insist	ipoptevome	suspect
pistevo	believe	epiveveono	assure	fovame	be afraid
elpizo	hope	eksiyo	explain	simfono	agree
		isxirizome	claim,	simbereno	conclude
			maintain		
		leo	say, tell		
		paraδexome	admit,		
			acknowledge		
		paratiro	remark		
		prolego	predict		
		tonizo	emphasize		
		de leo <sup>1</sup>	I don't		
			deny		
		elpizo	hope		
<u>Nonassertives</u>					
	endexete		be possible		
	ine piθano		be probable		
	ine dianoitō		be conceivable		
	ine dinato		be possible		
<u>Negative Nonassertives</u>					
	ine adianoito		be inconceivable		
	ine adinato		be impossible		
	ine apiθano		be improbable		
	amfivalo <sup>2</sup>		doubt		
	arnume <sup>3</sup>		deny		

I. The negative of 'leo' say 'de leo' when used parenthetically, it does not mean I don't say but I do not deny. Compare:

- i      de leo oti ise kalos  
         I don't say that you are good
- ii     de leo, ise kalos  
         I don't deny, you are good  
         you are good, I don't deny it

2. 'amfivalo' belongs semantically to this list but it presents the problem that instead of 'na' complementizer it normally takes the conjunction 'an' if though sentences with 'na' can also be heard. i.e. 'amfivalo na exi erθi akoma' I doubt that he has come  
I doubt it that he has come yet

3. 'arnume' deny behaves syntactically like an assertive verb though semantically is clearly nonassertive. Note that both amfivalo and arnume are strong assertives when negated in which case they both take the complementizer 'oti'.



TABLE II  
SEMANTIC CLASSES OF PREDICATES  
FACTIVE

Assertive (Semifactive)		Nonassertive (true factives)	
anakalipto	discover	arki	it suffices
apokalipto	reveal	exi simasia	be significant
diapistono	realize	ine perieryo	be odd
gnorizo	know	ksexnao	forget
exo ipopsi mu	know	lipame	be sorry
Θimame	remember	metrai	it counts
katalaveno	realize	paraksenevome	be surprised
ksero	know	pezi rolo	be significant,
maΘeno	learn		it counts
paratiro	notice,	stenoxorjeme	be sorry, bother
	observe	pirazi	it matters
pliroforume	find out,		
	be informed		
vlepo	see, notice		

### 3.11 A Semantic Classification of Predicates

#### 3.11.1 Assertives vs. Nonassertives

The semantic distinction of predicates into factives and non-factives is a very useful one but it cannot account for all the facts that concern complement clauses in Mod. Greek

We have already seen problems presented by verbs like 'fenete', 'perimena' etc. in connection with the presupposition of their complements; for this reason I have adopted another way of classifying the complement clauses, based on an analysis by Joan Hooper (1975).

This is a classification of verbs based on the ability or inability of the predicate to undergo certain syntactic operations. But it is defensible on semantic grounds and has associated with it a semantic explanation for the syntactic differences among the classes of predicates listed above.

The general conclusion that we shall draw from this section is that syntactic phenomena have semantic explanations, as Hooper has observed. But we shall also notice on the other hand, that semantic phenomena may have pragmatic explanations. This supports my own general thesis that there is **an** interdependence between syntax, semantics and pragmatics in terms of which one can explain what we call 'language function'.

The predicates above have been divided into four main classes whose complements consist of the complementizer 'oti' or 'na' plus a full S. All classes belonging to the Assertives basically take the complementizer 'oti' unless there are good 'semantic' reasons for their not doing so. Non-factives are the only class which takes only 'na' complementizers, with the exception of 'arname' which in Mod. Greek means,

- (a) refuse in which case they must take a 'na' complement,  
 (b) deny in which case they must take an 'oti' complement.  
 Finally Non-assertives basically take the complementizer 'pu' unless again there are semantic reasons which force them to take 'na'. Another exception here is 'ksexno' forget which can have any of the three ('oti', 'na', 'pu') complementizers.

The assertive predicates form a natural semantic class and share a common feature; they are affirmative in nature: the speaker or subject of the sentence has an affirmative opinion regarding the truth value of the complement proposition. The strong assertives (list a) describe a verbal act with regard to the complement propositions and this act is affirmatory, as opposed to the Non-assertives.

The strong assertives of list b and the weak assertives describe a mental act, process or attitude regarding the truth of the complement proposition. The opinion that the speaker or subject expresses with the second class of strong assertives and the weak assertives is also positive: a negative opinion renders the predicate Non-assertive.

The Non-negative Non-assertives (ine pi@ano, ine enδexomeno) express such weak affirmation regarding the truth value of the complement proposition that they fall short of being assertive (Hooper 1975:95)

The most important characteristic of the Assertive predicates is that they allow complement preposing unlike the Non-assertives which do not. This means that Assertive

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I. Sometimes 'pu' is replaced by 'oti' in this class but it is always preceded by the definite article 'to'.

predicates can be used parenthetically and occupy either rear or middle or front position in the sentence separated from their complement by comma(s).

- (1) a      Θimame,i meri itan i omorfoteri kopela sto skolio  
          I remember Mary was the prettiest girl in school  
b      i meri,Θimame,itan i omorfoteri kopela sto skolio  
c      i meri itan,Θimame,i omorfoteri kopela sto skolio  
d      i meri itan i omorfoteri kopela sto skolio,Θimame
- (2) a' \* ksexno i meri itan i omorfoteri kopela sto skolio  
       I forget Mary was the prettiest girl in school  
b' \* i mari,ksexno,itan i omorfoteri kopela sto skolio  
c' \* i meri itan,ksexno,i omorfoteri kopela sto skolio  
d' \* i meri itan i omorfoteri kopela sto skolio,ksexno
- (3) a      nomizo o janis Θa erΘi mazi mas  
          I think John will come with us  
b      o janis,nomizo,Θa erΘi mazi mas  
c      o janis Θa erΘi,nomizo,mazi mas  
d      o janis Θa erΘi mazi mas,nomizo.
- (4) a' \* arnume o janis irΘe mazi mas(cf.arnume oti o janis  
          I deny John came with us                  irΘe mazi mas)  
b' \* o janis,arnume, irΘe      mazi mas  
c' \* o janis irΘe,arnume,mazi mas  
d' \* o janis irΘe mazi mas,arnume.

The differences between parenthetical and non-parenthetical main clauses are both syntactic and semantic. In the first place, parenthetical predicates are normally not followed by complementizers. Both 'oimame' and 'nomizo' in their non-parenthetical reading require the complementizer 'oti':

a'' @imame oti i meriitan i omorfoteri sto skolio

I remember that Mary was the pretiest in school

a''' nomizo oti o janis @a er@i mazi mas

I think that John will come with us

The semantic difference between parenthetical and non-parenthetical clauses is that in the former the complement clause constitutes the main assertion whereas the main clause is semantically subordinated that is, in the case of parenthesis, the embedded subordinate clause is given more importance while the parenthetical clause undergoes a kind of semantic reduction.

The assertive quality of the complement proposition can be proved by the fact that complement preposing is forbidden when the main predicate is negated. Compare e which is complement preposed with e' which is not:

e \*i meri itan i omorfoteri kopela sto skolio, den isxirizete

Mary was the prettiest girl in school, she doesn't claim

(cf. i meri itan i omorfoteri kopela sto skolio, isxirizete)

e' i meri den isxirizete oti itan i omorfoteri kopela sto  
skolio

Mary doesn't claim that she was the pretiest girl in  
school

In the case of parenthetical predicates the scope of negation is limited to the assertive proposition that is, we can negate the preposed complement clause but we cannot negate the main clause which has been semantically reduced.

Let us now consider the non-parenthetical e'. There, the negative element can negate words that belong either to the main or the complement proposition (the negated element in each sentence is underlined).

- f i meri den isxirizete oti itan i omorfoteri  
kopela sto skolio, i eleni to isxirizete afto.  
Mari doesn't claim that she was the prettiest  
girl in class, Helen does (claims that)
- g i meri den isxirizete oti itan i omorfoteri  
kopela sto skolio; apenandias, to arnite afto  
Mary doesn't claim that she was the prettiest  
girl in class; on the contrary, she denies that
- h meri den isxirizete oti itan i omorfoteri kopela  
sto skolio, apenandias isxirizete oti ine tora  
on the contrary she claims that she is now
- i i meri den isxirizete oti itan i omorfoteri  
kopela sto skolio ala oti itan i eksipnoteri  
but that she was the cleverest
- j i meri den isxirizete oti itan i omorfoteri  
kopela sto skolio ala se oli tin perioxi tis  
notioanatolikis evropis  
but in the whole area of  
south-eastern Europe

f and g negate elements belonging to the main proposition;  
the rest negate elements of the complement proposition.

This shows then, that in non-parenthetical assertives both  
main and complement propositions are assertions since both  
are affected by negation.

The other diagnostic test (question) can, again, show  
that both main and complement proposition elements can be  
affected. Thus, in an interrogative sentence like k below any  
of the underlined elements is capable of being questioned  
provided, of course, that the main clause is not parenthetical.

k     aftos ipe oti tha pame ston kinimatografo?

He said that we will go to the cinema?

Did he say that we were going to the cinema?

On the contrary a parenthetical reading with the complement clause preposed, does not affect the main clause assertion at all that is,

k'     tha pame ston kinimatografo, ipe aftos?

in k' only the elements of the preposed complement are affected by question. Heavy stress can fall on any of the underlined elements in k; but in k' neither of the parenthetical elements ('ipe', 'aftos') can be stressed.

On the other hand, answers can be obtained out of any underlined element in k; in k' you cannot have answers through questioning the parenthetical clause elements. Compare answers given to k with those given to k':

1     aftos ipe oti tha pame ston kinimatografo?

Did he say we were going to the cinema?

Answer: ne, aftos (yes, he)

1'    \* tha pame ston kinimatografo, ipe aftos?

Answer: \* ne, aftos

1     aftos ipe oti tha pame ston kinimatografo?

Answer: ne ipe (yes he said)

1'    \* tha pame ston kinimatografo, ipe aftos?

Answer: \* ne, ipe

Sentences like 'i meri isxirizete oti ine i omorfoteri kopela' and 'aftos ipe oti tha pame ston kinimatografo' contain two claims to truth listed as follows:

i        aftos ipe X

ii        tha pame ston kinimatografo

Syntactically i is the main proposition; semantically however either i or ii can be the main proposition depending on

whether the sentence is used parenthetically or not.

But clearly this is a case where pragmatics comes in. Contextual considerations determine whether the main or the subordinate clause constitutes the main proposition. Consider the sentences below:

speaker:A . pjos ipe oti 9a pame ston kinimatoγrafo?

Who said that we are going to the cinema?

speaker:B(I)\* 9a pame ston kinimatoγrafo, ipe aftós

(2) aftós ipe oti 9a pame ston kinimatoγrafo

An answer like (I) constitutes what we usually call error in language performance. But it certainly has to do with pragmatics and what we describe as the thematic structure of the sentence (see chapter on Word Order). What determines here which is the main proposition (semantically) is the focus of the sentence. It is always the case that parenthetical clauses, that is, clauses which though syntactically main clauses are semantically subordinated do not contain any focus. Speaker B above cannot parenthesize the main clause because it contains an element ('aftos') about which Speaker A requires information. It is by no means insignificant that both assertion and focus are affected by negation and questioning; this is so because the latter is normally contained in the former: whatever is deliberately prominent by the speaker, by heavy stress, is bound to be interpreted as of especial significance by its hearer and hence the focus of information

In fact, when we said that either the main or the subordinate clause can be semantically more important than



the other in the case of non-parenthetical clauses, we meant that in that case the focus can be contained in either clause thereby strengthening it as assertion and rendering it semantically the main proposition regardless of whether it was syntactically the main clause or not.

Before I go on, I will cite two cases of assertive predicates which, in their parenthetical status, have been reduced almost to meaninglessness.

The Mod. Greek verb 'Θαρο' guess seems to be so weakly asserted that it can never be negated itself; sentence m' is now considered by most speakers of Mod. Greek to be unacceptable:

m      Θαρο (oti) Θα vrekxi  
         I guess that it will rain.

m'    \* Δεν Θαρο oti Θα vrekxi  
         not I guess that it will rain

It seems that the verb has undergone a diachronic reduction and now it is used only as a parenthetical predicate, so weakly asserted, that it cannot be negated.

The second case of semantic reduction, very characteristic in both Mod. Greek and English, are the second person Sg. of 'kseris' you know and 'vlepis' you see. Compare n with n' and o with o':

n      vlepis oti ime arostos  
         you see that I am sick

n'    ime arostos, vlepis  
         I am sick, you see

o      kseris oti ime arostos  
         you know that I am sick

o' ime arostos,kseris

I am sick,you know

We can say that those predicates in their parenthetical use,have undergone such semantic reduction that they have come to be meaningless.Speakers constantly use them without ever referring to their addressee's knowledge,sight, awareness or anything.

We can now use this semantic reduction idea of parenthetical assertions to account for the so-called Extrapolation from Object.The case is,then,that assertive verbs used parenthetically do not undergo this kind of extrapolation as witness:

p to pistévo oti ise o γoīs tis sinikias

I believe ~~it~~ that you are the lady-killer of the  
neighbourhood

p' (\*to)pistevo,ise o γoīs tis sinikias

p'' ise,(\*to) pistevo,o γoīs tis sinikias

p''' ise o γoīs tis sinikias,(\*to) pistevo

Sentences p',p'' and p''' are grammatical without 'to' and ungrammatical with it.In all three cases of them the main proposition is used parenthetically.

Furthermore what we have classified as weak assertives resist Extrapolation from Object even on their non-parenthetical readings.

to pistevo (it I believe)	
? to ipoθeto <sup>I</sup> (it I suppose)	oti θa erθi avrio
*to nomizo (it I think )	that he will come tomorrow.
*to θaro (it I guess )	

---

I.In some contexts extrapolation from object with "ipoθeto" is possible due to the fact that apart from suppose,it also has the meaning of hypothesize in which case it should be classified as a strong Assertive.

The claim I am making then, is that so long as the main proposition is weakly asserted or parenthetical, Extraposition from object cannot obtain. But it does occur if the main clause is also the main assertion and the complement clause is semantically subordinated. This means that whenever Extraposition from Object takes place the complement clause normally constitutes old or background information but it does not necessarily mean <sup>that</sup> the complement proposition is also presupposed. Compare the following sentences:

- q        to kseris oti exo tria paδja  
          it you know that I have three children  
          you know it that I have three children
- q'        den to kseris oti exo tria peδja  
          you don't know it that I have three children
- r        to paraδexese oti ise diγamos  
          it you admit that you are a bigamist  
          you admit it that you are a bigamist
- r'        den to paraδexese oti ise diγamos  
          you don't admit that you are a bigamist

In both q and r, the complement proposition is semantically less important than the main proposition, yet, in q and q' it is presupposed since it remains constant under negation, whereas in r and r' it is not presupposed.

In the subsections that follow, we shall be dealing with all the semantic classes of predicates listed on table I (page 181) and on table II (page 182) starting with the Weak Assertives.

### 3.11.2 Weak Assertives

The common feature of the weak assertives is that their complements are 'weakly' asserted, i.e. the speaker is reserved and does not express a strong opinion about the truth of the complement clause. But notice that it is some of these verbs that with the assistance of a heavy stress can acquire all the characteristics of factive predicates, as I have already shown. I shall repeat the examples here.

a     fenete oti ine sarantaris

It is self-evident (lit. it seems) that he is forty

b     (to) ipe0esa

I supposed

b'    (to) fantástika

I imagined

oti 0a erxotane/ 0a er0i

that he would come/ will come

b''   (to) perimena

I expected

Joan Hooper (Hooper:93) has noticed that "the predicates classed by their semantic content, instead of falling neatly into classes, they form a continuum so that there may not be clear breaks between one class and the next" (Hooper:93). The data from Mod. Greek shows that this continuum is somehow circular since the weak assertives under heavy stress are "factivized" and thus we have predicates of the first class of list I, sharing a common feature with predicates of the last class in list II: they can both have complements which are true propositions and which are not affected by negation.

With the exception of 'fenete', however, all other weak assertives have to be in a past tense in order to have their complements presupposed. Consider a somehow similar case with the English verb think:

c I thought it was you

c' I thought it was you

Again stress and the past tense have factivized a weak assertive; in c the complement proposition is counterfactual; in c' it is factual; in c the weak assertive means I was under the erroneous impression; in c' the same predicate means something like I knew (it) .

In the case of 'fenete' seem, heavy stress alone seems to be able to factivize the predicate but in all other cases, it combines with a past tense without the help of which the complement of those predicates can never be true propositions:

d to ipoθeto  
Present

d' to fandazome oti θa erθi/ oti erxete  
Present that he will come/that he comes

d'' to perimeno  
Present

As long as what is expressed by the complement proposition has not actually occurred, we can only make hypotheses about it. But when the complement proposition represents something that has occurred, the weak assertives cease to express hypotheses since by now it can be proved that their complement propositions are true propositions. In fact these predicates seem to have ceased to be assertives at all since (a): negation does not affect their complements as we have seen (b): they can no longer be used parenthetically. In fact in both the Greek, and the English example c', there is a commitment to the truth of the complement clause.

The predicates listed as 'weak assertives' may have Subjunctival complements instead of Indicative ones. When 'na'

is used instead of 'oti', the degree of likelihood assigned to their complement proposition is further weakened and they now express a much weaker opinion about the truth of the complement to the extent that this complement proposition is no longer an assertion. It is not surprising then, that in this case their syntax is the same as that of the Nonassertive predicates, that is, they, too, take 'na' complements. Like them, they express such weak affirmation regarding the truth value of the complement proposition that they now fall short of being assertive. Compare the sentences:

g      p i s t e v o      na   n i k i s u m e

I believe MM win

I believe that we will win

g'      pistevo oti 0a nikisume

There are two meanings of believe<sup>I</sup>, one pertaining to conviction and the other to opinion; sentence g may have either of these meanings. In g however, the speaker expresses a stronger degree of uncertainty about the truth of the complement proposition than in g'. An adverb like firmly or absolutely which expresses a strong opinion or conviction can fit in g' but never in g as witness:

g'' \* pistevu akraδanda na nikisume  
firmly

g''' pistevu akrađanda oti 0a nikisume

I. It is Bolinger who postulates two believes one pertaining to conviction the other to opinion. If followed by Indicative the Mod. Greek 'pistevo' can have either meaning. But if it takes a 'na' Subjunctive complement it may not refer to the speaker's convictions.

'pistevo', 'fandazome' and 'ipoθeto' when followed by a 'na' complement express wish, possibility or probability. On the other hand, 'nomizo', when it takes a 'na' complement it is always negative.

h \* nomizo na irθe

I think MM he came

h' θen nomizo na irθe

not think MM he came

Notice that the negation is always in the higher verb;

h'' \* nomizo na min irθe<sup>2</sup>

I think MM not came

This fact poses problems for the rule of negative transportation since 'nomizo' is one of the verbs that they do allow negative raising that is, f and g are synonymous on at least one reading:

i nomizo oti θen irθe

I think that he didn't come

i' θen nomizo oti irθe

I don't think he came

It might be the case that 'na' complements disallow negative raising but 'fenete' shows that they do not:

j fenete na min kseri tipote

He seems not to know anything

j' θen fenete na kseri tipote

He doesn't seem to know anything

Sentence h' cannot be justified as deriving from h'' through

---

2. Double negation, however, is possible i.e.

k θen nomizo na min irθe

negative raising since the latter is ungrammatical. The case is then, that 'nomizo' does not take a 'na' complement unless it is negated itself and not the lower verb only, since both, 'nomizo na ir@e' and 'nomizo na min ir@e' are ungrammatical.

It seems then, that, with the exclusion of 'nomizo', the weak assertives when followed by a 'na' subjunctival complement turn into volitional or wish predicates. Note the peculiarity of 1' below:

- 1      pistevo  
          fandazome    oti mja mera @a katalikso sti filaki  
          ipo@eto        that one day I will end up in prison
- 1'   ? pistevo  
       ? fandazome    na katalikso sti filaki mja mera  
       \*ipo@eto

Sentence 1 is o.k. because the Subject-speaker weakly asserts his own future in the complement proposition. In 1' he seems to be wishing his own doom hence the peculiarity of the sentence. People may wish they were dead but they normally do not wish they were in prison.

In the weak assertives there seems to be a semantic difference between the first person singular of present tense and all the other cases. With this person the speaker expresses a tentative opinion about the truth of the complement; but notice the difference in meaning that a difference in persons sometime involves.

- nomizo, ime eksipnos  
 m      I think I'm clever.  
       ? nomizi ine eksipnos  
 m'      He thinks he's clever

Sentence m is an opinion about one's own self; m', on the other hand, is an assertion referring to the Subject but expressed by a speaker; m' may also mean 'he erroneously believes



that he is clever', a meaning normally not applicable when the subject of the sentence happens to be the speaker himself.

It seems then that when the weak assertives *are* used in other than the first person<sup>they</sup> do not undergo the semantic reduction characteristic to those verbs and thus a parenthetical reading is difficult to obtain:

		? nomizi
		He thinks
		? Qari
		He guesses
n	ine eksipnos,	* ipoQeti
	He is clever,	He supposes
		* pistevi
		He believes

But notice that in a tense other than the Present a weak assertive requires its full semantic content regardless of person, in other words, whereas m and m' are not synonymous, on one reading m'' and m''' are.

m'' I thought I was clever

m''' He thought he was clever

Both m'' and m''' may mean 'wrongly believe' or 'be under the erroneous impression: the speaker can admit past mistakes.'

The parenthetical, semantically reduced reading of the weak assertives then, is more or less confined to the Present tense first person singular:

		pistepsa <sup>1</sup>
		I believed
n'	?? imuna eksipnos,	ipeQesa
	I was clever	I supposed
		nomisa
		I thought

<sup>1</sup> All these predicates, when parenthetically used, become synonymous to 'Qaro', the weakest assertive. But it is hard to obtain such a reading in the Aorist (Perfective). Note that 'Qaro' has no Perfective tenses: \*Qarisa, \*Qariso, \*exo Qarisi.

3.11.3 Strong Assertives

Contra the Kiparsky's, for some non-factive predicates extraposition is not obligatory:

a (to) oti  $\Theta$ a nikisume ine veveo  
(The)that we will win is certain

a' ine veveo oti  $\Theta$ a nikisume  
it is certain that we will win

With other non-factives, however, it is obligatory:

b \* to oti  $\Theta$ a nikisume, pistevete  
The that we will win is believed

b' pistevete oti  $\Theta$ a nikisume  
It is believed that we will win

This can be explained in terms of strong and weak assertion. Sentence a has a strong assertive predicate, sentence b a weak one.

I have explained extraposition in terms of focus and the FSP theory. On the other hand, I have claimed that the focus of information is always contained in the main assertion of a sentence. The difference between strong and weak assertive predicates is that whereas in the former either the main or the subordinate clause can become the main proposition (and also the focus), in the latter, owing to their reduced semantic content, they give way to the subordinate clause which becomes the main assertion and contains the focus of the sentence. We have also said that extraposition puts at the end of the sentence what is new or important information. But clearly the end position is not the right place for the weak assertive which is semantically reduced and cannot receive a heavy stress.

Put it in another way, in the first pair either 'nikisume' or 'veveo' can act as foci of information; in the second pair only 'nikisume' can.

Yet, the end position is not always retained for the focus of information; sometimes the focus is positioned just before the end of the sentence comes; what follows however, is separated from focus by comma intonation; sentence b can, then, appear with the same order of the elements provided that the last element 'pistevete' is not the main assertion and it is not the focus of the sentence, that is, provided that the main predicate 'pistevete' is parenthetical:

b'      Θα nikisume, pistevete

We will win, it is believed.

Whereas all the predicates listed as weak assertives can also have Subjunctival complements, only very few of the strong assertives can be followed by the Subjunctive i.e. 'epimeno' insist, 'ipoloxizo' calculate, 'simfono' agree, are among them.

The difference in meaning between 'epimeno' with an 'oti' complement and an 'epimeno' with a 'na' complement has already been discussed. In the former case this predicate means: to declare with emphasis (Oxford Dictionary).

G. Leech (1974) discusses the verbs wish, want and insist and postulates an underlying feature 'volition' for all three of them (Leech: 303). I tend to think that insist has apart from the feature 'volition' another feature i.e. 'deontic'. In fact in either of these cases the Mod. Greek 'epimeno' takes a 'na' Subjunctival Complement (cf. the English where there is an alternative between Subjunctive and a should-construction i.e. I insist that he be present

v.s.I insist he should be present):

volitional: c i  $\Theta$ ia mu epimeni na vlepi tenies porno

My aunt insists on watching blue movies

deontic: d i  $\Theta$ ia mu epimeni na meletao perisotero

My aunt insists that I should study harder

Notice that a 'volitional' predicate can, in similar cases, in particular when the verb of the Subjunctive complement is the Present tense, have this complement presupposed. Sentence c presupposes 'i  $\Theta$ ia mu vlepi tenies porno' my aunt watches blue movies. On the other hand, when the predicate is a strong assertive and it takes an 'oti' Indicative complement, this complement is never presupposed, as for instance in:

c' i  $\Theta$ ia mu epimeni oti vlepi tenies porno.

### 3.11.4 Nonassertives

This class of predicates is always followed by Subjunctive<sup>1</sup>; the first type of them has a negative element as a part of the lexical item i.e. api $\Theta$ ano unlikely. Of the two non-impersonal predicates 'amfivalo' doubt and 'arnume' deny, the former expresses a very weak opinion concerning the truth of the complement proposition; the latter is nonassertive by virtue of its negativeness.

Notice that a negated 'amfivalo' turns into a strong assertive: absence of doubt implies certainty. We have said that complement proposing with subsequent parenthesization of the main clause obtains only in assertive predicates:

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I. 'arnume' is an exception; but this predicate looks like a negated strong assertive i.e. it means say that something is not true. It thus complies with the syntax of a strong assertive which retains the Indicative when negated e.g.

$\delta\epsilon$  leo oti ise eksipnos

'amfivalo' and 'arnume' can be parenthetical only when negated:

- |   |                 |                 |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|
|   |                 | arnume          |
| a | *ise eksipnos,  | I deny          |
|   | You are clever, | amfivalo        |
|   |                 | I doubt         |
|   |                 | den t arnume    |
| b | ise eksipnos,   | I don't deny it |
|   | You are clever, | den amfivalo    |
|   |                 | I don't doubt   |

### 3.11.5 Semifactives

There is a class of predicates which is rather hard to classify. This is so because it stands in between factives and nonfactives containing characteristics of both. Karttunen (1970) was the first scholar to draw a line between pure factives and semifactives; the former presuppose their complements under any condition; the latter do not.

Consider the following:

- a      lipase pu exase i omaða su?  
          Are you sorry that your (favourite) team lost?
- a'     stenoxorjese pu pandreftike i lusi?  
          Do you bother that Lucy got married?

Questioning cannot alter the truth of the complements of a, a' 'i omaða su exase' and 'i lusi pandreftike' respectively. If you negate the sentences we will witness the same thing again: the complement clause will remain constant. Notice that stress cannot affect the truth of the complement clause, either. No matter which item of a' 'stenoxorjese', 'pandreftike' or 'lusi' is stressed, the complement clause

1 This view has been questioned (see R. Kempson, 1974)

is still presupposed.

Consider however the verb 'ksero' Know which is supposed to be a factive predicate:

- b        (to) iksera oti θa erxotane  
           I knew it that he would come
- b'        iksera oti θa erxotane  
           (I thought) he would come

Only in case the main predicate (the semifactive) is heavily stressed is the complement clause presupposed. This applies to the affirmative of b and the negative too. Their complements too, remain constant if and only if the main predicate is heavily stressed. It seems then, that whereas heavy stress tend to factivize weak assertives like, 'perimeno', 'fandazome', 'ipoθeto', the absence of a heavy stress, from a factive like 'ksero', has the opposite effect: This predicate has now been defactivized and it behaves like a weak assertive, that is, like 'perimena' 'fandastika' and 'ipeθesa'

Other semifactives behave in a similar way:

- c        to emaθa  
           I learned                    oti pandreftikes                    (factive)  
           epliroforiθika            that you got married  
           I was informed
- c'        emaθa  
           epliroforiθika    oti pandreftikes    (nonfactive)

A sentence that questions the truth of the complement can be added in c' but not in c.

- d'        \* to emaθa oti pandreftikes, ine aliθja?  
           I learnt it that you got married, is it true?

- d        emaθa oti pandreftikes, ine aliθja?

You cannot question what is presupposed (d') but you can

question what is asserted (d). Like all assertives 'emaθa' and 'pliroforiθika' can have their complements preposed:

e      pandreftikes,      emaθa  
   pliroforiθika

But complement preposing cannot obtain in c

e' \* pandreftikes, to éμαθα

The assertive predicate 'emaθa' is also the focus and it cannot be reduced to a parenthetical status. This complies with the part of theory which maintains that factive predicates cannot undergo complement preposing. In sentences c 'emaθa' and 'pliroforiθika' are factives and the proposition 'pandreftikes', you got married, is presupposed. In c', on the other hand, they are assertives and the complement clause is not presupposed.

Another characteristic of semifactives which <sup>they</sup> share with other assertives but not with any true factives is that their complements are, as Karttunen has pointed out "weakly" pre-supposed. Consider, for instance, the following sentence:

f den iða oti bike i meri .

I didn't see(notice)that Mary came in

In the preferred reading what is negated is the main proposition 'I've seen a bike' and the complement remains constant i.e. a true proposition. There are cases, however, when an element of the complement clause can be negated too i.e. either 'bike' or 'mari', as for instance when I am contradicting someone who insists that I have seen Mary coming in and I imply that it wasn't Mary but somebody else that I saw.

Thus, 'iðə' may or may not have its complement presupposed.

The ambiguity of a sentence like f casts doubts on the claim that a proposition may not be both asserted and

presupposed in a single token. A more thorough study of discourse may lead to a revision of this theory.

Like all the weak assertives, and some of the strong assertives, the semifactives can have a 'na' complement too. This happens whenever a weak opinion about the truth of the complement is expressed:

g        ksero oti iparxi mja  $\delta$ iafora anamesa tus  
I know that there is a difference between them

g'       ksero na iparxi mja  $\delta$ iafora anamesa tus  
I know there to be a difference between them

Sentence g has on one reading its complement presupposed.

In sentence g' the speaker never commits himself to the truth of the complement proposition.

### 3.11.6 Pure Factives

We have seen that the semifactives are weakly presupposed and that there are cases when a non-factive interpretation may be assigned to them. Stress and negation can alter their complements as far as commitment to their truth is concerned.

What characterizes the pure factives is that their complement proposition remains constant under any conditions. Thus the negated factives below do not alter the complement proposition 'pandreftike i meri' Mary got married.

a	$\delta$ en lipame	
	I am not sorry	
	$\delta$ en stenoxorjeme	
	I don't bother	
	$\delta$ en metrai	pu pandreftike i meri
	it doesn't count	that Mary got married.
	$\delta$ en exi simasia	
	<u>It is not important</u>	

As it might be expected, g can have a 'to' clitic whereas g' cannot; to kséro oti iparxi  $\delta$ iafora, \*to kséro na iparxi  $\delta$ iafora.



As far as their syntax is concerned, we notice that unlike the semifactive class, they allow of no complement preposing with subsequent parenthesization of the main proposition:

	ksexno
* i meri pandreftike,	I forget
Marry got married	stenoxorjeme
	I bother
	metrai
	it counts

The complementizer for all factives is 'pu'. Some of the predicates of this class of factives, the so-called emotives, can take a participial complement (Adverbial Participle) provided that they are not impersonal expressions.

b	lipiΘika maΘenondas ta nea
	Participle
	I was sorry to hear the news
b'	stenoxoriΘika vlepondas ton
	Participle
	I felt sorry when I saw him

The participial complement following such predicates is a verb of perception. This is the case when the complement clause has a non-finite verb.

Pure factives can be followed by a 'na' complement. A Subjunctival complement does affect the factivity of the complement. Normally the 'na' complement of factive predicates, when in the 2nd person singular, has a generic meaning and no commitment to the truth of the complement is involved.

Compare:

c	metrai <u>pu</u> exis Θiploma xoru
	It counts(the fact)that you have a diploma in dancing
d	metrai <u>na</u> exis Θiploma xoru

Sentence c refers to the addressee himself and to the fact that

he has got a diploma in dancing. In sentence d, on the other hand, the second singular has a generic meaning though it may include the addressee as well. A good paraphrase c will have 'to oti' in place of 'pu'; one of d will contain the conditional conjunction 'an' if, instead of 'na' again preceded by an article.

c' metrai to oti exis diploma xoru

d' metrai to an exis diploma xoru

A 'pu' complement always presupposes the truth of the complement whereas a 'na' Subjunctival one expresses a hypothesis.

We have discussed the semantics of the complement clauses. Our analysis though based on Hooper's observation, has followed another line and has underlined the importance of focus and stress in classifying predicates into assertives and non-assertives. Some of our findings are (a) Indicative Mood is the mood of assertive predicates; (b) **assertive predicates** are the only predicates capable of having a parenthetical reading on which the main proposition of a sentence is semantically subordinated and the complement proposition becomes the main assertion of the sentence. Pace the Kiparskys, however, there is no clear cut line between factives and nonfactives since representative nonfactive predicates (weak assertives) can have their complement clause presupposed if heavily stressed ('fenete') or, heavily stressed and in a past tense ('perimena', 'ipe@esa', 'fandastika'). Apart from this fact, there is the case of the semifactives which are ambiguous between one reading on which their complement is presupposed, and then they function as factives, and another reading on which their complement is not presupposed, in which case they function as assertive-nonfactives.

## 4 THE RELATIVE CLAUSE

4.1 Inflectional Properties

The two relativizers we shall be dealing with in this chapter are 'o opios', who, which, and 'pu', that.

The former is inflectionally marked for gender, number and case and, like nouns and adjectives in Mod Greek, it can take a definite article; indeed, this relativizer is obligatorily preceded by an article. Notice that although the definite article is much oftener used in Mod Greek than in English, there are still cases where it can be omitted; compare:

i kalosini ine megalí areti

Art fem. kindness is a great virtue

min perimenis kalosini ap afton

Don't expect kindness from him

But unlike any other NP ( we shall prove that 'o opios' is an NP) this relativizer always has to be preceded by a definite article.

## Declension of 'o opios' .

Masculine				Feminine	
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural	
Nom o opios	i opii		i opia	i opies	
Gen tu opiu	ton opion		tis opias	ton opion	
Acc ton opio	tus opius		tin opia	tis opies	

## Neuter.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	to opio	ta opia
Gen.	tu opiu	ton opion
Acc.	to opio	ta opia

The definite articles 'o' for masculine Sg., 'i' for feminine Sg., 'to' for neuter Sg., 'i' for masculine and feminine Pl., and 'ta' for neuter Pl., agree in gender, number and case with the relativizer. Note that all three genders can include animates as well as inanimates in Mod. Greek.

4.2 'o opios', 'pu'

Traditional grammars of Modern Greek (Babiniotis-Kondos, Tzartzanos) have treated 'pu' as an indeclinable relative pronoun differing from 'o opios' in that it has no gender, case or number as the former has. A closer examination of the two relatives will show that they do not share all the syntactic properties, in spite of the perfect synonymy of sentences like the following pair:

- (1) to vivlio to opio ekδooθike xtes itan mja apotixia  
 The book Art.Rel. was published yesterday was  
 a flop

The book which was published yesterday was a flop.

- (2) to vivlio pu ekδooθike xtes itan mja apotixia  
 The book Rel. was published yesterday was a flop

Even in this random example there is a very striking difference between the two relatives, namely in (1) the pronoun is preceded by a definite article which agrees in gender, number and case with the Relative Pronoun 'opios': no such Determiner may occur in (2) where 'pu' is used, as witness:

- (3)\* to vivlio to pu ekδooθike xtes itan mja apotixia  
 Furthermore, 'o opios' can become the object of a preposition whereas 'pu' cannot:

- (4) o maθitis ston opio xarisa ena molivi  
 The pupil to-the Acc.Rel.Acc. gave away a pencil  
 The pupil to whom I gave a pencil away

- (5)\* o maθitis ston pu xarisa ena molivi  
 The pupil to-the Rel. I gave away a pencil.

Note, however, that (5) can become grammatical without the preposition and the article.

(6) o maθitis pu tu xarisa ena molivi

The pupil that I gave away a pencil

There is no problem in defining the status of 'o opios' as a Definite NP, as can be seen; but with 'pu' the situation is quite different. There are, as far as I can see, similarities between 'o opios' and who, on the one hand, and 'pu' and that, on the other. For instance, like 'o opios' who can become the object of a preposition and like 'pu', that cannot be preceded by a preposition:

(7)a The boy to whom I gave an apple

(8) \* The boy to that I gave an apple

Yet (8) can survive in English as (9)c where the preposition has been stranded, and note also that an object relative can be "deleted". This is forbidden in Mod Greek:

(9)a \* to aʝori to opi<sup>o</sup>/pu edosa ena milo se

The boy the whom/that I gave an apple to

(9)b \* to aʝori edosa ena milo se

(9)c The boy I gave an apple to

Another aspect in which Modern Greek Relatives differ from the English is that whereas that can never be used with non-restrictives, its Greek equivalent 'pu' is used with both restrictives and non-restrictives.

(10)a o janis, pu ton ida xtes, mu fanike anastatomenos

The John, that him I saw yesterday, me seemed upset

(11)a o janis, to opio ida xtes, mu fanike anastatomenos

the whom

(10)b John, whom I saw yesterday, looked upset (to me)

(11)b \*John, that I saw yesterday, looked upset (to me)

Finally, Standard English does not use that as a possessive, whereas Modern Greek can use 'pu', as long as there is a

clitic possessive pronoun coreferential with the possessor.

(12) o maθitis tu opiu i mitera irθe na me θi exi

kakus vaθmus

The pupil Art.Ge.Rel.the mother came to see me

has bad marks.

The pupil, whose mother came to see me, has bad marks

(13) o maθitis, pu i mitera tu irθe na me θi, exi kakus

Poss Clit

vaθmus

Compare (12) and (13) with the English (14) and (15):

(14) The pupil whose mother came to see me has bad marks

(15)\*The pupil that his mother came to see me has bad marks

Sentence (6) shows that 'pu' functions adverbially, incorporating Preposition + Relative, which proves once again that 'pu' cannot be an NP since PPs functioning adverbially cannot be NPs in the surface structure.

Geis (1972) has analysed the Relative Adverb where in a similar way in sentences like:

(16) The place where I went was Ohio

Most interestingly, it is possible to use that without a preposition, which proves that that, like where, can function adverbially:

(17) The place I went (to) was Ohio.

Thus both Greek 'pu' and English that can be analysed as containing a preposition plus a relative.

Schachter (1972), who has noticed this fact in connection with that, has remarked that "the that which occurs at the beginning of relative clauses in English should not be regarded as a relative pronoun comparable to which or who but rather as a more general kind of marker of embedding, possibly the same as the that which occurs as a complementizer, Without the preposition to (17) is, of course acceptable by only a small number of native speakers of those that I have checked.

Before we take a look at Modern Greek and see whether the complementizer theory can apply to 'pu' let us examine the Possessive Relatives of (12-15). Stalhke (1976), who is in favour of a complementizer analysis of that, maintains that sentences like the following are acceptable in non-standard English

(18) Lester knows the man that you bought **his** car  
because the lower coreferent is neither moved nor deleted but simply pronominalized. Without the pronominalization both the Greek and the English sentences are ungrammatical.

(19)a \* o maθitis pu i mitera irθe na me **ei** exi kakus vaθmus

The pupil that the mother came to **see** me has bad

marks

b \* Lester knows the man that you bought car.

Furthermore, as far as Modern Greek is concerned, there is a sort of relationship between Genitive Possessive and Preposition plus Accusative, in that they have both replaced the Classical Greek Dative. The indirect object of a ditransitive verb, for instance, is expressed either with Genitive or Prep. plus Acc.

(20) eδosa tu pavlu ena vivlio

I gave Ar.Gen.Paul Gen. a book

(21) eδosa ston pavlo ena vivlio

I gave to the Paul Acc. a book

I gave to Paul a book.

Lyons (1967) has pointed out that Possessives may derive from Locative constructions, and in fact, in Modern Greek some Locatives can be expressed either with Genitive or Prep. plus Acc.:

(22) ta lefta tu portofolju mu ine liya

the moneys of the wallet *Gen.* of me are few

(23) ta lefta sto portofoli mu ine liya

the moneys in the wallet *Acc.* of me *is little*

the money in my wallet is little

(24) ine o kaliteros maθitis tis takseos

He is the better pupil of the class *Gen.*

(25) ine o kaliteros maθitis stin taksi

He is the better pupil in the class *Acc.*

He is the best pupil in the class

I could, therefore, claim that a Prep. + Rel. analysis of the Possessive 'pu' is not impossible. Diachronically, 'pu' derives from the Classical Greek adverb 'hopou' where, in which, and this explains why 'pu' can be more easily analysed as incorporating Prep. + Rel. than that.

However, there still remains a crucial piece of information which I have not yet clarified. If 'pu' is not a relative pronoun but a complementizer, as I have claimed, I must show that an Object Relative Clause has a pronoun functioning as object: 'pu' cannot be a complementizer and an object pronoun (NP) at the same time. This is the case in (26):

(26)a o janis, pu ton ida xtes, mu fanike paxiteros

As long as (26) is a non-restrictive, the clitic pronoun 'ton' is indispensable. Yet, on a restrictive clause reading, the same sentence does not require a co-referential object clitic.

(26)b o janis pu ida xtes mu fanike paxiteros

the John that I saw yesterday looked fatter to me.

Again, a coreferential clitic pronoun is required in the Genitive-Possessive relative clauses:



(27)a o maθitis pu i mitera tu irθe na me θi

(27)b \*o maθitis pu i mitera irθe na me θi

whereas with 'opios' no clitic pronoun is required, as witness:

(27)c o maθitis tu opiu i mitera irθe na me θi

Unfortunately things are not so clear with restrictive relatives where the clitic object 'i' is optional:

(28) i kiria pu (tin) parakalesa na perimeni θimose

the lady that (her) I asked to wait got upset

Restrictive relative clauses without a pronoun present problems to a complementizer analysis, since they are short of an object in cases like that of (28) without 'tin'.

#### 4.3 The Accessibility Hierarchy

Keenan and Comrie (1976) have found that a certain syntactic rule, which has the effect of making an NP the most prominent part through relativization, is restricted by a universal hierarchy of noun-phrase accessibility. That is, if an NP which is low in the hierarchy could be relativized in a particular language then NPs further up in the hierarchy could also be relativized in that language;

The Keenan-Comrie Accessibility Hierarchy.

(a) Subject  $\geq$  Direct Object  $\geq$  Indirect Object  $\geq$  Object of Preposition  $\geq$  Possessor NP  $\geq$  Object of Comparative Particle.

(b) If  $X \geq Y$  and  $Y$  dominates  $Z$ , then  $X \geq Z$

(The symbol  $\geq$  means greater than or equal to in accessibility)

In other words, if objects of prepositions which are low in the hierarchy can be relativized, then so can subjects, direct objects and indirect objects which are further up in the hierarchy.

We shall examine 'o opios' and 'pu' in this connection.

All positions are relativizable with opios, as witness:

(29)a subject: i maθites i opii δulepsan sklira

piran vracia

The pupils the who worked hard got  
prizes.

b Direct.Obj.: ta vracia ta opia edosan stus maθites itan mikra

The prizes the which they gave to the pupils  
were small

c Indirect Obj: o maθitis tu opiu edosame to vracia mas

evrise olus

The pupil the who Gen. we gave the prize  
us insulted all

The pupil to whom we gave the prize

insulted us all

d Obj. of Prep: o maθitis ston opio ipa na paralavi to vracia

θimose

The pupil to the whom I told MM collect the  
prize got angry  
The pupil to whom I told to collect the  
prize got angry

e Possessor NP: i kiria tis opias i kori maθeni pjano mu

xarise ena jevyari otaspiðes

The lady the whose the daughter learns piano  
me she gave a pair of earshields

f Obj. of Comparative Particle: o maθitis apo ton opio ime

kondoteros me apili

The pupil from the whom I am shorter me  
he threatens  
The pupil I am shorter than is threatening me.

Similarly, all the positions can also be relativized with

'pu', as witness:

(30)a i maθites pu θulepsan sklira piran vravia

The pupils that worked hard got prizes

b ta vravia pu tus eo<sup>so</sup>san itan mikra

The prizes that they gave them they were small

c o maθitis pu tu eo<sup>so</sup>same to vravio mas evrise

The pupil that him we gave the prize us he insulted

d o maθitis pu tu ipa na paralavi to vravio θimose

The pupil that of him I told MMcollect the prize  
got angry

e i kiria pu i koris tis maθeni pjano mu xarise kati

The lady that the daughter of her learns piano  
gave me something.

f o maθitis pu ime kondoteros tu me apili

The pupil that I am shorter of him me threatens.

Sentences (e) and (f) need some comment. In (29) the 'tis' preceding the relative 'opios' is an article. On the other hand, the tis of (30)e which follows kori is a possessive clitic. (cf. the man that you bought his car). The non-pronominalization of the lower coreferent would have produced the ungrammatical:

(31).\* i kiria pu i kori maθeni pjano

The lady that the daughter learns piano.

Again, in (29)f we have a Prep. plus Rel. in Accusative 'apo', from + 'ton opio', the whom, which once again proves the NP status of 'o opios'; on the other hand, (30)f cannot stand without pronominalization of the lower coreferent: there has to be either a clitic ('tu' in 30f) or an unreduced pronoun: 'o maθitis pu ime kondoteros apo afton...but \*'o maθitis pu ime kondoteros me apili', is ungrammatical.

There are reasons for treating 'pu' as a conjunction, the most important of which is the non-nominal status of it when compared with 'o opios'. Recall that 'pu' is actually used as a complementizer with Factive-Emotive predicates:

(32) lipame pu  $\delta$ en ir $\theta$ es mazi mas

I regret that not you came with us

(33) krime pu ap $\epsilon$ tixes stis eksetases su

Pity that you failed in the exams. of you

Such an analysis, however, is not free from problems as far as I can see. In the first place, how can one account for the co-occurrence of 'pu' with the other complementizer, namely, 'na'?

(34)  $\theta$ elo mja  $\gamma$ ramatea i opia na milai telia anglika

I want a secretary the who MM she speak subj.  
perfect English.

(35)  $\theta$ elo mja  $\gamma$ ramatea pu na milai telia anglika

I want a secretary that MM . speak  
perfect English

But interestingly, this is the only case where the relatives can be 'deleted'.

(36)  $\theta$ elo mja  $\gamma$ ramatea na milai telia anglika

This co-occurrence of 'pu' with 'na', optional though it is, speaks against our analysis of 'pu' as a complementizer.

It is worrying for our analysis if we assume (a) that 'na' is a complementizer, (b) that 'pu' is also a complementizer and (c) that there may be only one complementizer per clause. But clearly there is no reason to make any of these assumptions to the extent that they are a matter of terminology, anyway. In fact 'na' behaves quite differently

from ordinary complementizers in the sense of subordinating conjunctions, since it can occur in main clauses as well where it functions as a mood marker (MM)<sup>1</sup>. In other words, there are times when it looks more like 'Imp' of TG than like 'Comp' though in Bresnan's (1972) analysis these two are conflated, as far as I know.

I have implied that the occurrence of a (clitic pronoun) is crucial in deciding whether we have to do with a relative pronoun or with a complementizer.

We shall examine an Object Relative clause and see how 'opios', 'pu' and 'na' behave.

(37)a Oelo Oaskala tin opia na sevonde i maOites

I look for a teacher the whom MM respect the pupils

b Oelo Oaskala tin opia na tin sevonde i maOites

(38)a Oelo Oaskala pu na tin sevonde i maOites

I look for a teacher that MM her respect the pupils

b Oelo Oaskala pu na sevonde i maOites

(39)a Oelo Oaskala na tin sevonde i maOites

I look for a teacher MM her respect the pupils

b ?Oelo Oaskala na sevonde i maOites

Sentence (37)a has a relative pronoun and a mood marker (MM). We shall see later on that the difference between Indicative and Subjunctive (na) has<sub>1</sub> to<sub>1</sub><sup>de</sup> with presuppositions in relative clauses. Sentence (37)b is acceptable for many speakers. Sentences (38)a and b show that 'pu' can occur with or without an object clitic pronoun; the former presents no problem for a complementizer analysis. The latter does so since we are short of an object. Finally, in (39)a

<sup>1</sup> It is also a conjunction of purpose and of result. Note that in the latter case it seems to be on a gradient between a coordinate and a subordinate conjunction like the English resultative so that (see Quirk et al p.552).

we have a relative clause introduced by the complementizer 'na' (note, however, the problem of the missing object in the marginal <sup>39</sup> b).

Tzartzanos has observed the function of 'na' as a relative particle. (Tzartzanos 1946). Sentences (39) show that it functions as a complementizer. Notice that no other mood marker can have this double role:

(40)a Qelo δaskala pu Qa tin sevonde i maθites

MM

b\* Qelo δaskala Qa tin sevonde i maθites

What happens, then, in (39)a is not a deletion; simply 'na' has a dual function: it is both a mood marker and a complementizer:

Comp.		MM		Coreferent
pu	+	na	+	clitic
<hr/>				
		MM		
		Comp.		Coreferent
		na	+	clitic
<hr/>				

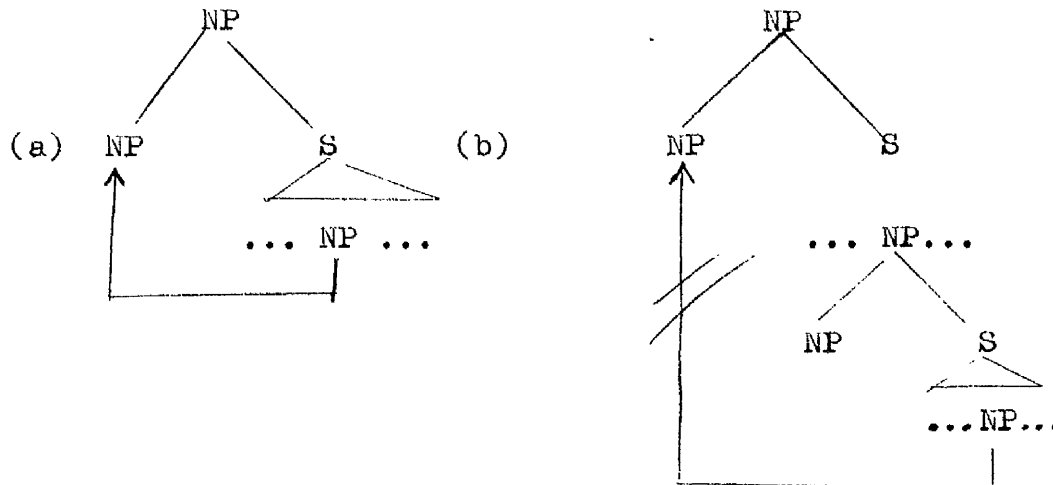
The complementizer table above shows that if both 'pu' and 'na' co-occur in a sentence, the former is a complementizer introducing a Relative Clause and the latter is a mood marker (MM).

But on the other hand, it is possible for 'na' to perform a dual function, that is, to act both as a complementizer and a MM in which case there is no 'pu' in the Relative Clause. Our complementizer analysis, however, requires that there should be a lower coreferent (clitic) if the relativized element happens to be an object.

Concerning the co-occurrence of a clitic pronoun with 'o opios', I see no problem since any NP (noun or pronoun) can have a co-referential clitic, as it has already been seen (cf. 'ton petro ton ksero' and 'afton ton ksero').

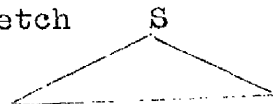
4.4 Constraints on Relativization

Ross's complex NP constraint does not permit relativization in case an element contained in a sentence dominated by an NP with a lexical head noun moves out of that noun phrase 'by transformation'. Thus of the following two configurations only (a) is permitted.



Thus from the following sentences (a,b,c) one cannot derive (d)

a Ruth liked the sketch



b the critics detested the artist



c the artist drew the sketch

d \* Ruth liked the sketch that the critics detested the artist who drew.

A similar sentence would be ungrammatical in Greek too. However, it is perfectly acceptable through pronominalization of the main clause object, which goes 'downstairs' as a clitic pronoun coreferent to the sketch. The same thing can





Nor can the 'o opios'-sentence be improved without the clitic. In fact the clitic is necessary to make clear who's hit who; so, without it, the sentence would mean that the policeman hit the demonstrator.

Note again that coreferential nouns within fact-S constructions are not blocked; indeed it is possible to dispense with pronominalization provided that no ambiguity arises. Note that in this case 'o opios' is not unacceptable.

(6) a epistepsa ton isxirizmo oti epestrepse ta xrimata

I believed the claim that he returned the money

b ta xrimata pu pistepsa ton isxirizmo oti ta  
epestrepse itan ena megallo poso

The money that I believed the claim that (them)  
he returned were a big sum

c to xrimata ta opia pistepsa ton isxirizmo oti  
(ta) epestrepse itan ena megallo poso

(7) a to xeyonos oti o kozmitoras xastukise ena texniko  
mas kateplikse

The fact that the dean slapped a technician us  
surprised

b o texnikos pu to xeyonos oti o kozmitoras (ton)  
xastukise mas kateplikse ine eno poli isixo  
an@ropaki  
The technician that the fact that the dean him  
he slapped us surprised is a very quiet little  
man

c o texnikos ton opio to xeyonos oti o kozmitoras  
ton xastukise mas kateplikse ine ena poli  
isixo an@ropaki.

Again, there is nothing to block the movement of NPs outside of S's dominated by NPs whose daughters do not include

lexical head nouns.

- (8) a enas turistas parakalese ena fiititi na pisi  
enan aristero na stili mja anΘoðezmi ston  
amerikano prokseno.

A tourist asked a student to persuade a leftist  
to send a bouquet of flowers to the American  
Consul.

- b ðen iða pote ton turista o opios/pu parakalese  
ena fiititi na pisi enan aristero na stili mja  
anΘoðezmi ston amerikano prokseno

I never saw the tourist who/that asked a student  
to persuade a leftist to send a bouquet of  
flowers to the American Consul.

- c ðen iða pote ton fiititi ton opion/pu enas turistas  
(ton) parakalese ...

I never saw the student whom/that a tourist (him)  
asked ...

- d ðen iða pote ton aristero ton opio/pu enas  
turistas parakalese enan fiititi na ton pisi  
na stili mja anΘoðesmi ston amerikano prokseno

I never saw the leftist whom/that a tourist asked  
a student ...

- e ðen iða pote tin anΘoðezmi tin opia/pu enas  
turistas parakalese enan fiititi no pisi enan  
aristero na tin stile ston amerikano prokseno

I never saw the bouquet of flowers which Acc/that  
a tourist asked ...

- f ðen iða pote ton amerikano prokseno ston opio/pu  
enas turistas parakalese enan fiititi na pisi

enan aristero na (tu) stili mja anθoeezmi

I never saw the American Consul to whom/that a  
tourist asked a student to persuade a leftist  
of him to send a bouquet of flowers.

Oddly enough, only the object of 'pisi' is not easy to  
relativize with 'o opios' in (d). In (f) 'ton amerikano  
prokseno' has a coreferential 'tu' (pronoun clitic) only in  
case 'pu' is used and not 'o opios'.

In case the configuration out of which the relativizable  
noun is moved is a noun clause of the form 'oti-S that-S ,  
the complementizer 'oti' cannot prevent the subject of the  
noun clause from being relativized:

(9)a o ipurγos nomise oti o γramateas ixe iθi stili  
tin engiklio stus epiθeorites

The Minister thought that the secretary had  
already sent the circular to the Inspectors.

b o γramateas pu o ipurγos nomise oti ixe stili  
tin engiklio stus epiθeorites ipevale paretisi

The secretary that the Minister thought that he  
had sent the circular to the Inspectors has  
tendered his resignation.

c i engiklios tin opia/pu o ipurγos nomise oti o  
γramateas ixe stili stu epiθeorites ine telios  
akatalavistiki

The circular which Acc/pu the Minister thought  
that the secretary had sent to the Inspectors  
is quite incomprehensible.

- d i epiΘeorites stus opius/pu o ipurγos enomise oti  
o γramateqs (tus) ixē stili tin engiklio ine  
γnosti pseftodaides

The Inspectors to whom/that the Minister thought  
that the secretary (tnem) had sent the circular  
are well-known swashbucklers.

For both 'opios' and 'pu' the clitic pronoun 'tus'  
(coreferential to epiΘeorites ) is optional.

Concerning the restrictions on movement of NPs out of  
NP  
|  
S structures in which the noun clause is a subject , it is  
rather perceptual strategies than syntactic rules which  
dictate the preference of relativization after extraposition:

- (10) a (to) oti o klitiras eδose iposxesi γamu se mja  
erevnitria Θeorite veveo apo olus

(The)that the janitor gave promise of marriage to a  
researcher is considered a certainty by everybody

- b i erevnitria pu/stin opia to oti o klitiras (tis)  
eδose iposxesi γamu Θeorite veveo apo olus...

The researcher that/to whom the that the janitor  
of her he gave promise of marriage is considered  
a certainty by everybody...

- b' i erevnitria pu/stin opia Θeorite veveo apo olus  
oti o klitiras eδose iposxesi γamu...

The researcher that/to whom it is considered a  
certainty by everybody that the janitor gave  
promise of marriage

- c i iposxesi γamu pu/i opia to oti o klitiras  
eδose stin erevnitria Θeorite veveo apo olus...

The promise of marriage that/which the that the  
janitor gave to the researcher is considered a  
certainty by everybody...

- c' i iposxesi jamu pu/i opia Georite veveo apo olus  
oti o klitiras edose se mja erevnitria

The promise of marriage that/which is considered a  
certainty by everybody that the janitor gave to a  
researcher.

- d o klitiras pu/ opios (to) oti edose iposxesi jamu  
se mja erevnitria Georite veveo apo olus...

The janitor that/who the that he gave promise of  
marriage to a researcher is considered a  
certainty by everybody.

- d' o klitiras pu/opios Georite veveo apo olus oti edose  
iposxesi jamu se mja erevnitria

The janitor that/who is considered a certainty by  
everybody that he gave a promise of marriage to  
a researcher.

(b'), (c') and (d') are preferable to (b), (c) and (d)  
owing to the fact that the extraposed sentences impose a  
heavier task on the comprehensibility of the hearer (see  
Bach, 1974 where he discusses the various attempts made by  
certain linguists aiming to knit together a theory of lin-  
guistic structures and general theories of cognition, per-  
ception etc., Bach:277).

#### 4.5 Extraposition in Restrictive Relatives

In the complementation chapter I have dealt with extraposition in terms of FSP theory and have claimed that the end position is usually kept for the clause that is more important as a unit of communication, that is, for the clause which constitutes the rhematic part of the sentence. Restrictive Relative clauses which, like complement clauses, are embedded within another clause (and, as we have seen, have something in common with the latter, in the sense that both may be introduced by a complementizer) may, in their extraposed form, be given a similar analysis in terms of background vs. foreground information. Yael Ziv (1975) has analysed English extraposed Relatives in a similar way. However, there are differences in our respective analyses. In the first place, mine takes intonation into consideration, whereas Ziv's does not. In the second, I consider non-restrictive Relative clauses as well and, pace Ziv, I claim that they, also, can be extraposed.

My extraposition analysis of the restrictive rel. clauses deals with those whose head noun is an indefinite NP. Relative clauses with definite NPs can also be extraposed, but I have not attempted to apply a similar analysis to them.

Consider the following pair of sentences:

- (1)a enas fiititis pu iøele na ðiri ton pritani  
 a student that wanted to beat the rector  
 ormise mesa stin eθusa  
 rushed into the room.
- (1)b enas fiititis ormise mesa stin eθusa  
 a student rushed into the room  
 pu iøele na ðiri ton pritani  
 who wanted to beat the rector

On at least one reading, and in an intuitive sense, we may say that in (1)a the student is identified as the person who wanted to beat the rector, that is, there must have been pre-existing knowledge that there was a certain student who wanted to beat the rector. In other words, the speaker already knows that there was a student who wanted to beat the rector; what constitutes new information here is the fact of his reaching into the room.

On the other hand, in (1)b 'enas fiititis' is identified as a student rushing into the room, and the speaker goes on to reveal his (the subject's) intentions hitherto unknown, i.e. his wanting to beat the rector.

Sentences (1)a and (1)b then differ in the following respect: in the former the main clause is foreground information; in the latter, it is the relative clause that constitutes the rhematic information. However, apart from the fact that background information tends to appear at the beginning of the sentence and new or important information toward the end, we should also mention a kind of 'propositional content hierarchy' (Ziv:573, 1975) whereby propositions function according to their content. In other words, some propositions express the main intention of the speaker and constitute foreground information, whereas others function as background.

I shall go on to give another example in connection with this kind of analysis:

(2)a enas iliθios irōe pu lei oti tu xrastao tria ekato-  
miria

an idiot came who says that I owe him three millions

(2)b ?? enas iliθios pu lei oti tu xrastao tria ekatomiria  
irθe

Most native speakers have agreed with me that the first sentence is better than the second. (2)b is good in a context where my hearer has previous knowledge of a certain person who claims that I owe him three millions. In that case, however, I would do much better if I used a deictic-anaphoric determiner instead of an indefinite article.

(2)b' ekinos o iliθios pu lei oti xrastao tria exatomiria  
irθe

that idiot who says that I owe ~~him~~ three millions  
came.

There is, then, as it appears, a kind of semantic hierarchy of the two propositions which is the result of pragmatic correlates. If we compare (1) and (2) we shall see that in some intuitive sense either the main or the relative clause may be communicatively more important in (1), i.e. both the rushing in and the wish to beat the rector are capable of expressing important foreground information by virtue of their 'suddenness', 'unexpectedness', 'unpredictability' etc. Sentences (2) on the other hand, are slightly different; here the information contained in the relative clause is much more entitled to play a foreground role than the main clause.

From a semantic point of view what occupies the final position in the sentence normally constitutes the main assertion. In a case of extraposition then, it is the relative clause which is the main assertion unless heavy stress has fallen on one of the elements of the main clause.

Let us use the diagnostic test of questioning and negation which affect what is asserted.



Question (1)a' enas fiititis pu iŋele na ŋiri ton  
pritani, ormise mesa?

A student who wanted to beat the rector,  
rushed in?

Answer A: oxi, ŋen ormise mesa, ala ton perimeni ekso  
No, he didn't rush in, but he is waiting for  
him outside

Answer B??:oxi ŋen iŋele na ton ŋiri aplos na tu milisi  
No, he didn't want to beat him, he simply  
(wanted) to talk to him.

Question (1)b' enas fiititis ormise mesa pu iŋele na ŋiri  
ton pritani?

A student rushed in who wanted to beat  
the rector?

Answer A: oxi enas fiititis ormise mesa pu iŋele aplos  
na tu milisi.

No, a student rushed in who simply wanted  
to talk to him.

Answer B??:oxi ŋen ormise mesa ala ton perimeni ekso  
No, he didn't rush in, but he is waiting for  
him outside.

The A's are possible answers to (1)a' and (1)b' provided that we have what we call 'normal intonation' with the stress falling on the last accented (non-clitic) word of the sentence. But let us take (1)b' again. Suppose that the element 'mesa' in, inside, has a heavy stress. Then Answer B is the right answer to (1)b'.

There is some difficulty in connection with the other test, i.e. negation. Again consider the sentences:

(1)a'' enas fiititis pu iðele na ðiri ton pritani  
 ðen ormise mesa,

A student who wanted to beat the rector did  
 not rush in,

ton perimeni ekso

he is waiting for him outside.

(1)b'' ?enas fiititis ðen ormise mesa pu iðele na ðiri  
 ton pritani

A student did not rush in who wanted to beat  
 the rector.

Sentence (1)b'' is unacceptable owing to a constraint that prevents indefinite NPs from preceding their predicates, when negated, unless used in a generic or partitive sense. Compare

(3)a enas astifilikas ine ekso

A policeman is outside

b\* enas astifilikas ðen ine ekso

A policeman is not outside

c ðen ine ekso enas astifilikas

Not is outside a policeman

c enas astifilikas ðen lei psemeta (Generic)

A policeman does not tell lies.

d enas astifilikas ðen ine ekso; emine mesa (Partitive)

A policeman is not out; he stayed in.

One of the policemen is not out; he stayed in.

For this reason sentence (1)b'' will be rewritten as (1)b'''

(1)b''' ðen ormise mesa enas fiititis pu iðele na ðiri  
 ton pritani

Not rushed in a student that wanted to beat  
 the rector

ala enas pu iŋele na tu milisi

but one who wanted to speak to him.

Although the sentence is not extraposed in the sense that the relative 'pu' immediately follows its antecedent, the fact remains that what is negated belongs to the relative clause which occupies final position here and under normal intonation is the main assertion. Again, of course, a heavy stress may fall on one of the main clause elements, i.e. 'ormise', 'mesa', in which case it will be these elements which negation will affect:

ŋen ormise mesa enas fiititis pu iŋele na ŋiri ton

pritani ala protimise na ton perimeni ekso

but he preferred to wait for him outside.

Admittedly, we have used assertion in a 'rather vague pragmatic' sense; yet recall the examples where the main clause is supposed to be asserted. In the case of sentence (1)a, its question (1)a' and its negation (1)a', it is always presupposed that 'there is a student who wanted to beat the rector'; on the other hand, in (1)b and its question and negation, (1)b' and (1)b''' respectively, there is no similar presupposition since we deny the existence of such a student that is, the continuation of the negative sentence (1)b''' and the answer to the question (1)b', (Answer A), refer to another student. On the contrary, Question (1)a and its Answer A refer to the same student, i.e. they both presuppose the existence of a student who wanted to beat the rector.

Like all analyses based on intuition and pragmatic considerations, this one too, may not appear so convincing.

This is, unfortunately, the common characteristic of such studies: one has a feeling that he is right in what he claims but he may also have a hunch that others are not quite convinced because of the inconclusiveness of his arguments. There are still questions to be answered in connection with this theory. So far, we have dealt with extraposition where the head noun is an indefinite NP. Can relative clauses be extraposed when the head noun is a definite NP? Ziv & [ ] maintains that they cannot. I can give examples in which this can happen. Consider the sentences:

(a) o eforiakos o opios theli na su milisi irthe

The tax-collector who wants to speak to you came

(b) o eforiakos irthe o opios theli na su milisi

We can again assume that in the first sentence it is the main clause that constitutes the main assertion whereas in the second sentence what constitutes the main assertion is the extraposed relative clause, for the same reasons that we had assumed the same thing when we analysed the relatives with an indefinite head NP.

#### 4.6 Relative Clauses as Adverbs

Quine remarks that the peculiar genius of RC is that it creates from a sentence '... x ...' a complex adjective summing up what that sentence says about x, and he concludes that 'the RC is the most concise adjective for the purpose'. I propose to argue here that a RC can act as an adverb as well. This is a case where extraposition can occur, as we shall presently see.

In an intuitive sense, there are cases where the Relative functions like a subordinating conjunction rather than a pronoun. Goodwin observes that in Classical Greek there are

Relative Clauses which express cause, time, purpose etc.

Notice, however, that in most of the examples that he cites the RC is extraposed:

- (1) presbeían pempeín hētis taût ereî  
 Embassy to send which these will say.  
 To send an embassy in order to say these things.
- (2) tis outō mainetai hostis ou bouletai soi philos ênai  
 Who thus is maddened who not want to you friend be  
 Who is so mad that he does not want to be your friend?

Similar sentences occur in Modern Greek with the Relative Clause extraposed or unextraposed:

- (3)a ase to jani o opios/pu kseri kala maθimatika  
 Let John who knows well Mathematics  
 na lisi to provlima  
 to solve the problem.
- b ase to jani na lisi to provlima o opios/pu kseri  
 kala maθimatika  
 Let John solve the problem who knows well mathematics.
- (4)a ute o janis, pu/o opios kseri kala maθimatika,  
 bori na lisi to provlima  
 Nor John who knows well mathematics can solve  
 the problem.
- b ute o janis bori na lisi to provlima o opios/pu  
 kseri kala maθimatika  
 Nor John can solve the problem who knows well  
 Mathematics

Clearly the semantic relation of the Relative Clause to be antecedent seems to be different from that of either RRC or NRRC. They both have one reading in which the relative clause does not restrict itself to the function of a 'complex'

or concise adjective; it rather has a much more extended relationship to the whole main clause. This is more obvious in the extraposed (b) sentences, where one can see a causal relation in (3) and a concession relation in (4):

(3)c ase to jani na lisi to provlima jati kseri

kala ma@imatika

Let John solve the problem because he knows

Mathematics well

(4)c ute o janis bori na lisi to provlima anke kseri

kala ma@imatika

Nor John can solve the problem though he knows

Mathematics well

This analysis is possible only as long as the Relatives are taken to be non-Restrictive; that is, only when the relation of the Relative Clause to its antecedent is rather loose, can it afford to form a much more close relationship to the main clause as a whole. No such interpretation can be given to a restrive relative functioning as a complex adjective: the John who knows mathematics well .

We can therefore conclude that whereas RRC do function as adjectives, NRRC can, in certain cases, function adverbially. This provides counterevidence to something else that Quine has observed and on which a great deal of the TG theory on Relatives is based, namely that non-Restrictive Relative Clauses are stylistic variants of co-ordinate sentences; obviously, this is only partly true.

Needless to say that it is extremely difficult to obtain a RRC reading of the extraposed (b) sentences (3,4) so long as the Relative Clause is moved away from its antecedent, though there is no such problem with the unextraposed

ones.

Something similar happens with participles whose function can be either adjectival or adverbial (cf. 'running water' and 'the boy came running': in the second example the participle is next to the word it modifies as a Manner Adverb).

These facts present problems for a TG analysis of Relative Clauses. J. Aissen (in Aissen 1972) has pointed out that such clauses derive from conjunction deletion. My analysis has problems too, since it is only 'pu' that has been analysed as a conjunction and the adverbial relatives can take 'o opios' too. Tentatively I claim that since extraposition normally occurs with RRC, the only case when NRRC can be extraposed is when they are used adverbially, that is, when the NRRC is in a very loose sense related to the antecedent because it functions as a main clause modifier. If, then, we could use features, NRRC which is extraposed should always be [+ Adverbial].

#### 4.7 Relative, Subjunctive and Presupposition

The presupposed status of a relative clause seems to depend entirely on the presupposed status of the referent of the whole noun phrase. If there is a presupposition of existence for the latter, then the former will be presupposed as true, otherwise it will not. Both definite and indefinite NPs can be either presupposed to have a referent or not; if they are presupposed, then they are specific, if they are not, they are generic:

o/ enas maθitis pu eryazete sklira perni ipotrofia  
the/ a pupil who works hard gets a scholarship

This is ambiguous between any pupil who works hard gets a scholarship and there is a pupil who works hard and this

pupil gets a scholarship.The same sentence will have only the generic nonpresupposed reading if the head noun is not preceded by any article at all:

(1)b maŋitis pu eryazete sklira perni ipotrofia

Note that all(1) sentences, when interpreted as generic, are normally semantically equivalent to a conditional clause:

(1)c an enas ma~~o~~itis eryazete sklira perni ipotrofia

If a pupil works hard he gets a scholarship

It is generally believed that in a structure whose relative clause is in the Indicative there is a positive presupposition about the existence of the relativized NP whereas in a structure in which the relative clause is in the Subjunctive, there is no presupposition with respect to the existence of the relativized NP . We have already seen that in Indicatives the NP need not be presupposed. Let us now consider some relative clauses in the Subjunctive. Consider the sentences:

(2) a  $\theta_{elo}(mja)$   $\chi_{ramatea}$  (i opia/pu) na kseri tris  
 $\chi_{loses}$

I need (a) secretary(the who/that) MM Know three languages

I need a secretary who speaks three languages

Sentence (2)a does not presuppose the existence of the NP 'yramatea', unlike its Indicative counterpart which, on one reading it does as witness:

(2) b Oelo ti/mja xramatea i opia/pu kseri tris  
xloses

A definite NP cannot occur in a relative clause which is in the Subjunctive for the reason that definite NPs normally presuppose their existence if they are specific; on the other hand, the relativized NP can never be definite in a Subjunctive.

(2)c\* 0elo ti xramotea i opia /pu na kseri tris loses

I want the secretary who/that I know three  
lan guages



Indeed, even in its generic sense a relativized definite NP produces sentences of marginal acceptability in the Subjunctive, as witness:

- (3) ?? i γramatea i opia/pu na milai tris γloses  
vriskete diskola simera

The secretary who/that MM speak three languages  
is not easily found nowadays

However consider the examples below:

- (4) vrika  
I found  
iparxi γramatea i opia/pu na milai tris γloses  
There exists  
exo  
I have

In (4) the relativized NP has a specific referent for the speaker; in other words, it is presupposed by him that there exists a secretary that speaks three languages.

If we may talk of presupposition at all, then, it must be in its broader pragmatic sense in which it means: information shared by both the speaker and the hearer; and <sup>in</sup> that sense, we may say that sentences like (4) imply that the proposition expressed by the relative contains an NP which is not information shared by the hearer. This is proved by the fact that the relativized element is never definite and specific in a Subjunctive relative clause:

- (5) \* i γramatea i opia/pu na milai tris γloses ine dipla

The secretary who/that MM speak three languages is  
in the next room

Sentence (5) is correct only in case there is no IE 'na'.

The difference between a relative clause in the Subjunctive and one in the Indicative is that in the former the relativized NP cannot have a specific referent for both the speaker and the hearer and it normally constitutes focus information.

## 5 COORDINATION

5.1 Sentential and Phrasal: a distinction

Our main concern here will be structures containing the basic Mod. Greek coordinating conjunction 'ke', and; however, structures containing 'i', or and 'ala', but will also be dealt with in subsequent sections of this chapter.

The fact that a great deal of sentences containing two or more conjoined phrases can have the same meaning as sentences containing a corresponding number of clauses had already been noticed by Beauzée in 1767 (see Chomsky 1966:46) and by Henry Sweet in 1891 (see R. Hudson 1970:206).

But it was also observed (by De Sacy 1824, Whitney 1877:240 and Curme 1931:93) that a number of sentences containing a conjunction of phrases cannot have a corresponding analysis into a conjunction of clauses; thus, whereas

(1) Jack and Jill work in a supermarket  
can be semantically equivalent to Jack works in a supermarket and Jill works in a supermarket, the sentence:

(2) The king and queen are an amiable pair  
cannot have an expanded version like: \* the king is an amiable pair and the queen is an amiable pair.

This has led present-day scholars to postulate two terms: sentence conjunction, to refer to examples like (1) above, and phrasal conjunction, to refer to cases like (2). In fact there are three positions maintained by linguists according to Stockwell

et al, 1973.

- a. Both phrasal and derived conjunctions (sentential)  
are basic (Smith, Lakoff and Peters, Ross)
- b. Only phrasal conjunction is basic  
(Wierzbicka, McCawley, Dougherty)
- c. Only derived conjunction is basic  
(Gleitman, Bellert, Schane)

The present analysis subscribes to the view that both phrasal and sentential conjunction are necessary to a grammar which aims to capture all the facts concerning coordination, for the simple reason that an only-derived (sentential) conjunction analysis faces insurmountable difficulties with predicates like pair, similar, trio etc. since such words cannot refer to a noun representing a single individual, that is, their referents are never "companionless".

The phrasal-conjunction supporters, on the other hand, (Wierzbicka 1967) maintain that the underlying argument in sentences like John and Bill left does not actually constitute conjuncts but rather a separately defined set equivalent to some plural NP. There is some evidence from Greek concerning this viewpoint as witness:

(3)a *i karamanlis ke mavros tha exun sinomilies*

the (Pl.) Karamanlis and Mavros will have talks.

i is plural number Definite Article but it is followed by two conjoined noun phrases in the singular. We cannot possibly expand this sentence into

(3)b \*i karamanlis 0a exi sinomilies ke i mavros  
0a exi sinomilies

the (Pl.) Karamanlis will have talks and

the (Pl.) Mavros will have talks

As the surface shows, the phrasal conjunction is plural,  
but according to the Modern Greek Grammar rules, the  
Definite Article always agrees in gender, number and case  
with the Noun it modifies. Thus (4)b can never be grammatical :

(4)a o andras

the(Sing.) man

(4)b \*i andras

the (Pl.) man

But note that apart from (3)a with the single Plural  
Article there can also be a construction with two Singular  
Articles modifying a conjunct each, as witness

(3)c o karamanlis ke o mavros 0a exun sinomilies  
the (Sing.) Karamanlis and the (Sing.) Mavros  
will have talks,

in which case it can be expanded into sentential conjunction

(3)d o karamanlis 0a exi sinomilies ke o mavros  
0a exi sinomilies

Thus, (3)a is: Article-Pl [Noun-Sg ke Noun-Sg] whereas (3)c is:  
Article-Sg [Noun-Sg ke Article-Sg Noun-Sg].

As far as Wierzbickas' logico-semantic approach,  
whereby a semantic common denominator, ie. 'people' is  
postulated to account for the well-formedness of "the  
men and the women are all here" versus the oddity of "the  
men and the tables are here", it seems to me that the

conjoinability of phrases depends rather on pragmatic constraints than on the need for a common semantic denominator. A sentence like "Janice and Betty had a furious argument over the labour policy on Rhodesia" can be very odd if Betty is the six-month-old daughter of Janice, despite the presence of the common denominators 'Human' and 'Female'. On the other hand, one can imagine situations in which Wierzbicka's examples can be perfectly contextualized, ie. one in which a colonel throws a party in honour of a visiting general and converts a place into the party room by having the tables carried into it and asking the soldiers to act as waiters.

## 5.2. Coordination and Processes

Following Hudson (1970) I have drawn a distinction between phrasal and sentential in terms of single and multiple processes. Hudson uses three criteria in order to decide whether a conjunction of phrases is phrasal or sentential:

- (1) If the 'corresponding expanded form' involving coordinated clauses is grammatical we can interpret it as sentential (sentence 1, above). if not (sentence 2, above) then it is phrasal.
- (2) If the conjunction of phrases requires a joint interpretation (cases containing predicates like similar, pair, trio) then the conjunction is phrasal.
- (3) If a number of processes is involved and each of

them applies to a different person or object referred to by the conjunction of phrases then the conjunction is sentential.

The first criterion is problematic in the sense that it makes syntax and semantics contradict each other. Thus, whereas John sold his house and Mary sold her house is a 'legitimate' expanded form of the sentence John and Mary sold their house (Hudson: 208), the meaning is clearly not the same, that is the second criterion, which unlike the first is semantics-oriented, chips in: a joint ownership cannot but refer to a complex entity. If, however, there is no joint ownership, that is, if house is syntactically Sg but semantically Pl. (I am not absolutely certain whether this applies to English, but it does apply to Greek), having more than a single referent for the conjoined noun phrases John and Mary; then the conjunction is sentential and there is no friction between syntax and semantics.

The second criterion is also problematic in that it postulates that "all reciprocal construction would be phrasal" owing to the fact that "they involve two or more actors": (Hudson 1970:210)

But this is not true for cases where a singular is underlyingly plural having more than a single referent. My analysis differs from that of Hudson's in that it takes into consideration pragmatic factors: the hearer arrives at a conclusion by using his own criteria as to what interpretation sounds more natural to him. Consider the following sentences:

(4)a o petros, o pavlos ke i meri ipjan ena flitzani  
kafe.

Peter, Paul and Mary drank a cup (of) coffee.

(4)b o petros, o pavlos ke i mere efayan ena arni.

Peter, Paul and Mary ate a lamb.

It is much more likely to assign a phrasal interpretation to (4)b than to (4) a for the simple reason<sup>that</sup> the latter is much more likely to have a variable referent than the former; the speaker, therefore, who wishes to utter (4)b with a sentential interpretation will have to use 'o kaθenas', each, or 'apo' from (or both) in order to modify the word with the variable referent :

(4)c o petros, o pavlos ke i mere efayan (apo) ena arni  
(o kaθena)

Peter, Paul and Mary ate (from) a lamb (each).

On the other hand (4)a does not normally take 'kaθenas' or 'apo', because the context is enough for such an interpretation. Even an adverb like 'mazi', together, cannot render the conjunction phrasal, for the hearer will take it to mean that they drank their coffees in company rather than that all three drank out of one cup of coffee.

Reverting to reciprocals, we notice that in Modern Greek there is a group of medio-passive verbs with the prefix alilo - which is a reciprocal pronoun of classical Greek meaning each other, one another.

(5)a	aliloksondonome	to exterminate each other
b	alilomisime	to hate each other
c	alilotrojome	to fight, to quarrel with each other

d aliloipowlepome to look down on each other

e alilokitazome to look at each other

In order to create the expanded form of, say, the sentence:

(6)a o janis ke i peθera tu alilomisunde

John and his mother-in-law hate each other  
you will have to (a) get rid of the prefix alilo\_ and (b)  
turn the medio-passive into active voice

(6)b o janis misi tin peθera tu ke i peθera tu misi

to jani

John hates his mother-in-law and his mother-in-law  
hates John

There is, however, a problem if we apply the same analysis to c which literally means to be eaten with each other; thus, (7)a cannot be expanded into (7)b as witness:

(7)a o janis ke i maria alilotroχonde δiarkos

John and Mary are always quarreling with each other

(7)b \*janis troi tin maria ke i maria troi to jani

Like the English equivalent, quarrel\_, the verb is reciprocal even without the prefix 'alilo\_', and like it, it is not a transitive verb; so, its expanded form will retain the medio-passive construction:

(7)c o janis troχete me ti maria ke i maria troχete

me to jani

John quarrels with Mary and Mary quarrels with  
John.

But (7)c is clearly different from (7)a in that the former



can be taken to mean that sometimes John starts quarreling with Mary and sometimes Mary starts quarreling with John, whereas the latter (7)a can be taken as a single process with John and Mary starting to quarrel at the same time: thus each of (7)a and (7)c have a phrasal and a sentential interpretation respectively.

We have already discussed conjoined noun phrases with a plural determiner, and I have said that, following Wierzbicka's analysis, we could describe those noun phrases as a separately defined set equivalent to some plural NP, which lead us to a conjunction of phrases rather than a conjunction of clauses. Yet those plural-article conjoined phrases can be used in a 'respectively' construction, as witness:

(8)a i tsatsos ke karamanlis simandun tus leone ke  
andreati andistixos

the(Pl.) Tsatsos and Karamanlis meet (Pl.Accus.)

Leone and Andreati respectively.

Following Postal 1967, we can say then that constructions involving 'respectively' are among the prime examples of sentential construction. Without 'respectively' the 'semantic' interpretation given to (8)a could be: a team consisting of two members representing Greece meets a team consisting of two members representing Italy; this would be taken as a single process which would be paraphrased as

(8)b i sinandisi ton tsatsu ke karamanli me tus leone  
ke andreati

the meeting of the (pl.) Tsatsos and Karamanlis

with the (Pl.Accus.) Leone and Andreotti.  
However (8)a with its 'respectively' will have a plural  
nominal

(8)c i sinandisis ton tsatsu ke karamanli me tus  
Pl Pl Pl  
leone ke andreoti

the meetings of Tsatos and Karamanlis with  
Leone and Andreotti

But note that not all nominals can be pluralized as easily as that; in particular it is hard to turn into plural gerundive nominals (see Complementation chapter) i.e.

(9)α ο ερχομος τον τριον ιπυργον den θα ine  
taftoxponos.

the coming of the three ministers will not be simultaneous.

(9)b?i erxomi ton trion ipuryon oen 0a ine taftoxroni  
the comings of the three ministers will not be  
simultaneous.

(10)a to djoksimo tu jani ke tis marias apo ti ōulja  
the dismissal of John and of Mary from the job

(10)b \*ta ɔjksimata tu jani ke tis marias apo tin ɔulja  
the dismissals of John and of Mary from the job.

Whether we have a single process or two or more processes happening at different times and places the nominal will, in certain cases, retain its singular number; indeed, some nominals like 'ōjoksimo', dismissal and 'xtisimo', building (the process) will hardly ever appear in the plural: \* ōjoksimata, \* xtisimata. Hudson 1970, notices the plural resistance in -ing nominals in English when

he comments on McCawly's 1968 observation in connection with what he describes 'joint' and 'non joint' readings. Interestingly, the placement of the genitive apostrophe in McCawly's (130) sentence:

(11) John and Harry's departure for Cleveland (joint) corresponds with the Modern Greek (8)b where the genitive plural article 'ton' modifying two singular number nouns bears a syntactic affinity to 'John and Harry's' i.e. what the Modern Greek does with the plural genitive article, English does by putting only the second conjunct in the genitive. But, as we have seen, the plural article can also admit of a non-joint (sentential) interpretation.

This plural resistance is not confined to gerundives, however. Of the two sentences that follow (12)a is much more commonly used than (12)b:

(12)a i maria ke i aδelfi tis exun oreo soma

Mary and her sister have beautiful figure

(12)b i maria ke i aδelfi tis exun oreo somata

Mary and her sister have beautiful figures

The soma of (a) is only a common characteristic, not a common property (unless we are talking of Siamese twins).

Both (11)a and (11)b can be expanded into

(12)c i maria exi oreo soma ke i aδelfi tis exi oreo soma

Mary has beautiful figure and her sister has

beautiful figure

Pragmatic considerations, here again, should be taken into account. The speaker does not consider it necessary to put the noun into plural since inalienable possessions

cannot have a joint interpretation. Note that the optional uses of the indefinite article cannot apply to sentences like (12)a, though they can to sentences with a joint phrasal interpretation:

(12)d \*i maria ke i aóelfi tis exun ena oreo soma

Mary and her sister have a beautiful figure

(13)a i maria ke i aóelfi tis exun ena oreo spiti

Mary and her sister have a beautiful house

Normally the indefinite article goes with the phrasal conjunction unless the sentence contains 'kaθenas', each, or 'apo', from; on the other hand, the non-use of the indefinite article admits of both sentential and phrasal conjunction unless we have cases like (11)a, where owing to the reasons stated above a phrasal interpretation is impossible. Consider the following sentences:

(13)b i maria ke i aóelfi tis exun oreo spiti

Mary and her sister have beautiful house.

(14)a \*i maria ke i aóelfi tis pandreftikan ena mixaniko

(14)b i maria ke i aóelfi tis pandreftikan - mixaniko

Mary and her sister married (a) mechanic.

(13)b, unlike (13)a, can be either sentential or phrasal.

(14)a is possible only in case of bigamy. The article-less

(14)b noun has a generic sense and this sentence can either be expanded into two conjoined sentences or simply have its object in the plural.

(14)c i maria pandreftike mixaniko ke i aóelfi tis

pandreftike mixaniko

Mary married a mechanic and her sister married a mechanic.

- (14)d i maria ke i aôelfi tis pandreftikan mixanikus  
Mary and her sister married mechanics.

However, genericness is a very complicated matter and one should see it as something that has to do with the sentence as a whole. Normally, the Modern Greek Aorist cannot have a generic meaning hence \* (14)a if generic. The same phenomenon applies to the Modern English past, as was noticed by Jespersen.

- (15)a\* Expensive as<sup>the</sup><sub>Λ</sub> butter which I bought yesterday was,  
it turned rancid.

- (15)b Expensive as<sup>the</sup><sub>Λ</sub> butter which one buys on Friday is,  
it usually turns rancid.

Oddly enough, both (16) below may have a sentential reading provided the verb is heavily stressed:

- (16)a i maria ke i aôelfi tis pandrevonde ena mixaniko  
Mary and her sister marry a mechanic.

- (16)b i maria ke i aôelfi tis 0a pandrevondusan ena  
mixaniko

Mary and her sister would marry a mechanic.

(16)a and (16)b are perfect paraphrases of each other in a conditional sense. Providing that the verb of the Present tense, as the underlined one above, is heavily stressed, it can have a hypothetic-generic meaning exactly like the conditional of (16)b. In this sense both (16) have a non-joint sentential interpretation, i.e. 'ena mixaniko' has more than a single referent (though not a specific one), the meaning being: both Mary and her sister would each marry a mechanic, if there were any available.

5.3 The Disjuncts 'i'...'i' either or

Some logicians have pointed out that or can sometimes be paraphrased by an expansion with and. We may call this kind of or 'affective' or, after Klima (1964) who has observed that it can be found in what he himself describes as 'affective environments'.

Some transformationalists (L.Horn 1972) have proposed a transformation called "Factoring" which transforms any and originating outside the scope of not or it into or within the scope of not or it.

Leaving transformations aside we can explain this "and" or in terms of semantics and pragmatics. There are contexts where it actually means and, in which case the disjuncts take plural and, there are contexts in which it does not mean and in which case the disjuncts take singular. Consider the sentences:

(1)a i esi i i meri 0a pai sto 0eatro  
(Sg)

Disj.you disj.Mary will go to the theatre

(1)b i esi i i meri 0a pate sto 0eatro  
(Pl)

Out of context both singular and plural are possible. But if there is a condition that either you or Mary will go, that is, a stipulation forbidding the going to the theatre of both, then a singular (1a') is normally used as witness:

(1)a' i esi i i meri 0a pai sto 0eatro, oxi ke i 0jo  
(Sg) not both

(1)b'?\* i esi i i meri 0a pate sto 0eatro, oxi ke i 0jo  
(Pl)

In other words, singular is used if and only if the context implies a pure "either or" interpretation whereas the use of

plural implies that 'i...i' may mean 'ke', and. Consider the sentence below:

(2) i esi i eyo borume na ton voi@isume

Disj. you disj. I can(Pl) MM him help

Either you or I can help him

(2) does not imply you to the exclusion of me or I to the exclusion of you; it may be the case that we both can help him.

One can describe this phenomenon as an instance of Subject-Verb disagreement, but it is not at all uncommon. Singular nouns in English take plural verbs (The police are looking for the thief), and plural nouns, on the other hand, can take singular verbs (your scissors is on the table). The case, then, is that the verb here shows plural concord if the subject is either syntactically or semantically plural. In (1)a there is singular concord because it is implied that only you or only Mary will go to the theatre; the going of both of you is out of the question. In (2) where no such exclusion of either subject is implied plural is possible, especially if the context implies that 'esi' does not necessarily exclude 'eyo', I.

There is, of course, a way to avoid the use of plural at all by having each disjunct with its own subject and predicate

(3)a i eyo ime vlakas i esi (ise)/(vlakas)

Either I am stupid or you (are)/(stupid)

In this case you can suppress either the whole predicate 'ise vlakas' or only the predicate adjective but never the verb only.

(3)b \* i eyo ime vlakas i esi vlakas

On the other hand, if the two disjuncts share the same copula but differ in predicate adjective then it is the copula which can be omitted as witness

(4)a i eyo ime poli vlakas i esi (ise) poli ekspinos

Either I am very stupid or you (are) very clever

Finally, if the two disjuncts share the same object the second disjunct has to be a clitic pronoun:

(5)a i o petros filise ti meri i o janis ti xastukise

Either Peter kissed Mary or John her(cl) he slapped

(5)b \*i o petros filise ti meri i o janis xastuke aftin

#### 5.4 'ala' but

The restriction in the distribution of 'ala' but is that it cannot conjoin more than two sentences unlike 'i' either or.

(1)a i eyo 0a trayu0iso i esi 0a peksis vjoli i o janis

0a xorepsi

Either I will sing or you will play the violin

or John will sing.

(1)b. \*eyo 0a trayu0iso ala si 0a peksis vjoli ala o  
but . but

janis 0a xorepsi

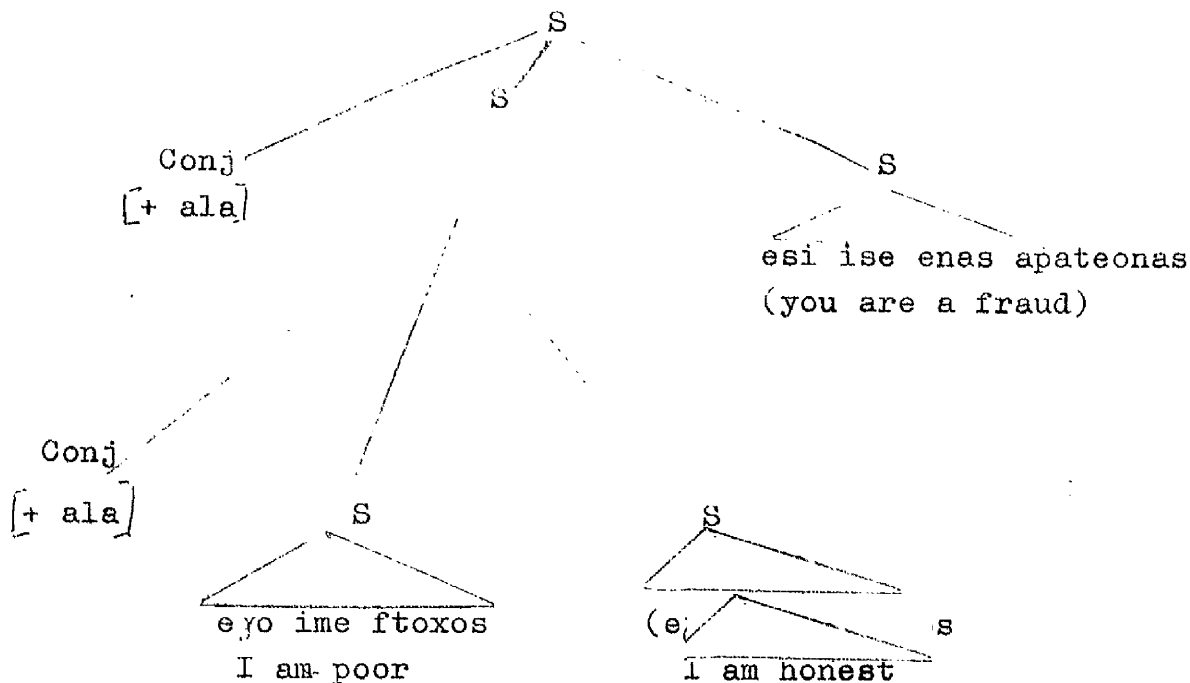
But there are cases involving more than one 'ala' as witness:

(2) eyo ime ft0xos ala timios, ala esi ise enas apateonas

I am poor but honest, but you are a fraud

In terms of TG theory this would have a structure corresponding to:





which means that each 'ala' conjoins two sentences.

My interpretation does not differ though I see no reason for resorting to deep structure. Simply the first two conjuncts form a coordinate sentence which in its turn is conjoined with the third conjunct ('ala si ise enas apateonas'). The obligatory use of a comma shows that once the conjoining between the first and the second conjunct has been made, they are now taken as a sentence which is re-conjoined to the third conjunct.

### 5.5 Gapping

Gapping is a well-known rule (Ross 1967) which can convert sentence (1)a into (1)b

- (1)a o janis misi tin pe@era tu ke o nikos misi ti nifi tu  
John hates his mother-in-law and Nick hates his  
sister-in-law

- (1)b o janis misi tin pe@era tu ke o nikos ti nifi tu

John hates his mother-in-law and Nick his sister-in-law. This does not necessarily mean that gapping deletes verbs only. On the contrary, it operates much more freely and is capable of deleting more than one constituent in the second conjunct; and what is more, these constituents do not have to be contiguous as witness:

o pavlos prosπαθise na pisi ti maria na erθi sto parti mazi tu  
 Paul tried to persuade Mary to go to the party with him  
 ke o nikos [prospaθise na pisi] tin eleni [na erθi sto  
 parti mazi tu]  
 And Nick [tried to persuade] Helen [to go to the party  
 with him.]

As we can see in the above sentence, the bracketed parts can be deleted, giving:

o pavlos prosπαθise na pisi ti mari na erθi sto parti mazi tu,  
 ke o nikos tin eleni  
 Paul tried to persuade Mary to go to the party with him  
 and Nick, Helen.

What interests me in gapping is that some constraints which apply to English do not apply in Modern Greek due to certain factors.

In the first place, Lakoff's (1968) rule that verb gapping is blocked if there are three constituents in the superficial structure of the right-hand sentence. Thus, whereas

(2)a I saw Mary, and Peter Helen  
 is O.K.

(2)b \*I gave John a nickel and Bill Harry a dime  
 is not. However, the same sentence is correct in Modern Greek.

(3) eyo ečosa tu jani mja pendara ke o vasilis tu xari  
IO(Gen) DO(Acc) mja dekar<sup>IO(Gen)</sup>  
DO(Gen)

Notice, however, that in Modern Greek there is case marking of both the articles and the nouns. Thus the subjects 'eyo' and 'o vasilis' are in the nominative whereas the objects 'tu jani.' and 'tu xari' in the genitive, which is typically the case of indirect objects.

Again, notice the restriction on gapping as far as sentence (4)a is concerned. (4)b is a permissible gapping, but (4)c is ungrammatical:

(4)a Bill is depending on Harry to find the way to school,  
and Sue to find the way home.

(4)b. - and [Bill is depending] on Sue to find the way home.

(4)c. - and Sue<sup>is</sup> [is depending on Harry] to find the way home.

On the other hand, Modern Greek allows both left as well as internal gapping, as witness:

(4)b' o vasilis stirizete ston xari ja na vri to ōromo  
 'The Vasilis relies on the Harry to find the way  
 ja to sxolio ke [o vasilis stirizete s] ti sula  
 to school and [the Vasilis relies on] the Sula  
 ja na vri to ōromo ja to spiti  
 to find the way home

(4)c - ke i sula [stirizete ston xari] ja na vri  
- and the Sula [relies on the Harry] to find  
the way home  
to dromo ja to spiti

There is no ambiguity in Modern Greek because in (4)b' the underlined definite article marks the accusative case of

the proper noun 'sula' and thus we know that 'ti sula' is the object of the verb 'stirizete'. On the other hand, in (4)c the article preceding the same proper noun is in the nominative case, which means that 'i sula' is now the subject of the verb 'stirizete'.

However, as far as neutral gender is concerned, both article and noun of the nominative case are identical in form with the article and noun of the accusative. In such a case a consideration of the pragmatic relationship between the constituents can function as the context for a particular sentence and can be used by the hearer in assigning a particular reading. Consider the following sentence from Modern Greek:

(5)a i mitera filise to koritsi sto metopo

the mother kissed the girl on the forehead

ke to moro sto mayulo

and the baby on the cheek.

(5)b - ke [i mitera filise] to moro sto mayulo

and [the mother kissed] the baby on the cheek

(5)c - ke to moro [filise to koritsi] sto mayulo

and the baby [kissed the girl] on the cheek

Sentence (5)c is acceptable only if the speaker is in a position to know whether the baby can kiss or not. Given the fact that the word is used rather loosely sometimes, i.e. for children that are no longer babies, one can assume that (5)c is possible. But if the hearer knows that his speaker refers to a newly-born baby, then the internal gapping has a pragmatic constraint: newly-born babies do not normally kiss, so it is definitely the mother who did the kissing in that case.

But the fact remains; cases in (5) cannot help one to

disambiguate the sentence since 'to moro' and 'to koritsi' are identical in form in nominative and accusative and thus can be either subjects or objects of a sentence.

### 5.5.1 Gapping and Word Order

Whereas grammatical cases normally help to disambiguate a sentence in Modern Greek, word order can sometimes produce the opposite effect due to its relative freedom. Consider (1)a and (1)b sentences below

(1)a nomizo oti o janis ine kutos

I think that John is stupid

(1)b o janis, nomizo, oti ine kutos

John, I think that he is stupidà

In (1)b the subject of the complement clause has been front-shifted to act as theme or topic of the whole sentence. But the word order freedom can go even further, i.e. we can have the subject of the lower clause between the verb of the higher clause and the complementizer as witness:

(1)c nomizo, o janis oti ine kutos

I think, John that he is stupid.

Now consider the gapped sentence below realized as (2)a:

(2)a nomizo oti o janis ine kutos ke o pavlos oti ine poniros

I think that John is stupid and Paul that he is smart

(2)b nomizo oti o janis ine kutos ke [nomizo]

I think that John is stupid and Paul that he is smart

(2)b nomizo oti o janis ine kutos ke [nomizo]

I think that John is stupid and [I think]  
Paul that he is smart

(2)c - ke o pavlos [nomizi o janis] oti ine poniros

and Paul [thinks John] that he is smart  
i i

and Paul thinks that John is smart

In (2)b the gap includes Subject and Verb of the higher clause of the second conjunct owing to their identity with those of the first conjunct; in (2)c the gap contains the verb of the higher clause (with a different Subject now) plus the Subject of the lower clause Verb 'ine'. Consider now the sentence below which invites only one reading:

(3) nomizo oti o janis ine kutos ke i lina oti ine paranoiki

I think that John is stupid and Lina that she is paranoic  
The adjective 'paranoiki' is feminine and for this reason it can never refer to 'janis' which is masculine in gender.

And note again that there will be no ambiguity whatever if the subject of the lower complement clause of the verb 'nomizo' does not precede the complementizer 'oti' as witness:

(2)a' nomizo oti o janis ine kutos ke oti o pavlos  
ine poniros

(2)b' nomizo oti o janis ine kutos ke [nomizo] oti  
o pavlos ine poniros

(2)c' \* - ke o pavlos nomizi [oti o janis] ine poniros

Here, however, we should point out that readings of internal gapping like those of (2)c are more likely to occur when the verb has a 'surface' subject functioning as contrastive theme.

Consider a case with the verb 'θelo'

(4)a θelo i lula na mini mazi mu

I want Lula (Nom.) MM stay with me

ke i meri na ksekumbisti

and Mary (Nom.) MM get lost

By far the most preferred reading is:

(4)b θelo i lula na mini mazi mu

ke [θelo] i meri na ksekumbisti

And [I want] Marksekumbisti st.

(4)c??? - ke i meri [θeli i lula] na ksekumbisti

And Mary [wants Lula] to get lost.

Now let us use (4)a with a contrastive theme. Recall that I have claimed that the personal pronouns need not function as subjects since the person is marked in the verb endings. Thus, when they are used, they function as contrastive themes or as foci. I shall therefore repeat (4)a as (4)a' with the only difference that this time the verb 'θelo' is preceded by the personal pronoun 'eyo', I:

(4)a' eyo, θelo i lula na mini mazi mu

I want Lula to stay with me

ke i meri na ksekumbisti

And Mary to get lost

Now both (4)b, and (4)c which without 'eyo' was unacceptable, are good:

(4)b' eyo θelo i lula na mini mazi mu

ke [eyo θelo] i meri na ksekumbisti

(4)c' eyo θelo i lula na mini mazi mu

ke i meri [θeli i lula] na ksekumbisti

Intuitively I can say that 'eyo' in (4)b' functions as a theme of contrast, i.e. as for me I want .... In (4)c' there is more than that. Here 'ke', also, expresses a kind of antithesis and it is synonymous with 'eno' whereas, while (cf. 'eyo s ayapao ke si me misis' I love you and you hate me). Note that 'θelo' is a verb in which raising is optional as it can be seen from all the examples of (4) in none of which the subject of the lower clause has been raised to become the object of 'θelo'. If, however, raising has occurred a (4)c'

reading is impossible since 'meri' in the accusative case cannot be a subject:

- (4)c" \* eyo Qelo ti lula na mini mazi mu  
ke ti meri [Qeli ti lula] na ksekumbisti

### 5.6 The Coordinate Constituent Constraint

Paul Schachter (1977) observes that Coordinate constructions are subject to a surface-structure constraint requiring that their constituents belong to the same syntactic category and have the same semantic function. This constraint he claims to be universal.

I will use one of his examples and compare it with a sentence taken from Modern Greek.

(1): \* They made John an offer and an officer (25)  
Schachter points out that the sentence is ruled out by his 'Coordinate Constituent Constraint' since an offer is functioning as direct object and an officer as an object complement. He goes on to say: 'It might also be argued, however, that made is being assigned two different meanings (and similarly, that John is being assigned two different functions: indirect object in the case of made John an offer, direct object in the case of made John an officer). (Schachter: 92).

Consider, however, the following sentence from Modern Greek which is grammatical unlike Schachter's:

- (2) esi efayjes to gliko ke yo [efaya] to ksilo  
You ate the sweet and I [ate] the beating  
You ate the sweet and I got beaten

The sentence is not ruled out by Schachter's constraint, though it should be. The verb 'efaya' has two meanings here:



the ordinary meaning of eat i.e. 'to take solid food into the mouth and swallow it'; But it also has another meaning: to undergo, to suffer, to experience something usually bad, i.e. 'efaxa ksilo', I got beaten, 'efaxa vrisiði', I got insulted, 'efaxa klotse', I got kicked. It is due to this difference in meaning that 'esi' and 'yo' though grammatically the subjects, have different semantic functions; 'esi' is the logical subject whereas 'yo' the logical object, or we can even claim that the verb of the second conjunct is in the passive voice with an unexpressed agent. Notice that the first conjunct, efaxa, can be passivized but not the second:

(3)a olo to yliko faxoike apo ta pedja

All the sweet was eaten by the children

b. \*olo to ksilo faxoike apo ta pedja

All the beating was eaten by the children

(3)b is ungrammatical because 'apo ta pedja' functions as agent syntactically but it still remains the recipient (or the logical object) semantically.

Nevertheless, a sentence like (2) in defiance of Schachter's constraint is a grammatical sentence despite the difference of semantic functions of the two conjuncts.

### 5.7 Asyndetic Coordination

As in English so in Mod Greek, comma intonation can function as a coordinator, in other words, conjoining can occur without any conjunction appearing on the 'surface' of the sentence as witness:

o janis, o pavlos, i maria, oli petixan stis eksetasis  
John, Paul, Mary, they all succeeded in the exams

There is a Rise after each proper noun followed<sup>by</sup> a short pause (comma intonation) and the sentence ends with a Fall:

oli petixan stis eksetasis

If, on the other hand, the three proper nouns are postposed, the sentence ends with a Rise as if it were a question:

(F)b oli petixan stis eksetasis, o janis, o pavlos,  
i maria

However, if we do use conjunctions, all three proper nouns will have the conjunction 'ke' and, preceding each one of them:

(I)c oli petixan stis eksetasis, ke o pavlos ke o janis  
ke i maria

Note that this time the pauses are shorter after each conjunct and there is no Rise after each one of them, as it happened in (I)a and b.

Disjunctive conjoining too, can occur without any conjunction 'i' or, on the surface of the sentence as witness:

(2)a pandremenos, anipandros, xiros ?

Married, unmarried, widower ?

Again, there is a Rise after each conjunct and comma intonation as well. The sentence ends in a Rise and a tone of indecisiveness. Compare this with (2)b where there is an 'i', or: the pause in this case, is shorter and the sentence ends with a Fall

(2)b pandremenos, anipandros i xiros?

Unlike the case of 'ke', here there is only one conjunction preceding the last conjunct; you cannot normally have:

(2)c??? pandremenos i anipandros i xiros ?

The use of intonation to function disjunctively, like 'i' or, is normally limited to questions as in (2)b, above, or to indirect questions, as witness:

(3)a aftos tha erθi na me θi, ego tha pao, den ksero

He will come to see me, I will go, I don't know.

This is different in intonation from (3)b:

(3)b i aftos tha erθi na me θi i ego tha pao, den ksero.

Either he will come to see me or I will go, I don't know.

Again, (3)a differs from (3)b in that after each disjunct there is a Rise and comma intonation in it unlike (3)b with the 'i' in which there is a Fall after each disjunct.

Coordinate clauses with no explicit coordinator present are called 'asyndetic' by the traditional grammarians.

### 5.8 Asyndetic Subordination

I shall now go on to deal with <sup>some</sup> double-verb constructions ( $V_1 V_2$ ) which, though they seem to derive from a  $V_1$  'ke'  $V_2$  construction, thus being another case of asyndetic coordination, they are, in fact a case of asyndetic subordination. These double-verb constructions are normally confined to Imperatives. Consider the following sentences:

(1) a trexa fere mu ta spirta

Run bring me the matches

b katse iae amesos

Sit eat at once

c parto valto sti θesi tu

Take-it put-it in its place

d ela katse θipla mu

Come sit beside me

All these constructions appear to be very closely related to  $V_1$  ke  $V_2$  constructions being perfect paraphrases of them:

(2) a trexa ke fere mu ta spirta

b katse ke fae amesos

c parto ke valto sti θesi tu

d ela ke katse  $\delta$ ipla mu

Intuitively, however, we notice that in both (1) and (2) there seems to be a semantic relationship between  $V_1$  and  $V_2$  in that  $V_2$  appears to be dependent on  $V_1$ ; in fact the first verb normally expresses action involving some kind of movement and the second verb expresses the actual purpose for this movement. It is not surprising, therefore, that both (1) and (2) can be closely paraphrased to (3) in which  $V_2$  belongs to a 'na' complement with  $V_1$  constituting the main predicate, as witness:

(3) a trexa na feris ta spirta

b katse na fas amesos

c parto na to valis sti  $\theta$ esi tu

d ela na ka $\theta$ isis  $\delta$ ipla mu

Note that in none of (1), (2), (3) are  $V_1$  and  $V_2$  separated by comma intonation (cf. asyndetic coordination.)

Notice also that only verbs which bear this semantic relationship can turn into  $V_1 V_2$  and into  $V_1$  na  $V_2$  from a  $V_1$  ke  $V_2$  construction as witness:

(4) a kane askisis ke perne vitamins e

Do exercises and take vitamins E

b \*kane askisis na pernis vitamins e

\* c \*kane askisis perne vitamins e

Clearly in (4) there is no movement-purpose relationship between the two verbs.  $V_1$  and  $V_2$  stand independently of each other. (cf. run in order to bring the matches and do exercises in order to take vitamins where it is quite easy to find an appropriate context to express a semantic relationship between the two verbs in the former example but not in the latter one.)

The existence of a  $V_1$  ke  $V_2$  which can be reduced to  $V_1 V_2$

and in which  $V_1$  and  $V_2$  have a main-depended verb relationship can be clearly seen in cases where the verb 'prospa $\theta$ o' is  $V_1$ . If there is a coordination, then  $V_1$  is always separated by comma intonation from  $V_2$ . On the other hand, no such comma intonation is required if the two verbs have a main-depended relationship. Compare the sentences:

(5)a Θa prospa $\theta$ iso, ke Θa ér $\theta$ o se epafi mazi tu

I will try, and will get in touch with him

b Θa prospa $\theta$ iso ke Θa ér $\theta$ o se epafi mazi tu

Apart from the comma intonation which separates  $V_1$  from  $V_2$  each one of the two verbs receives tonic prominence in (5)a. On the other hand, in (5)b only  $V_1$  receives tonic prominence and there is no comma intonation to separate it from  $V_2$ . Note that in (5)a it is entailed that I will succeed in getting in touch with him whereas in (5)b it is not. As a matter of fact, entailment is the right word to use here. What actually happens is that in (5)a  $V_2$  expresses something factual whereas the same verb in (5)b expresses something putative. Now consider (5)a and (5)b in the Imperative:

(5)a' prospa $\theta$ ise, ke ela se epafi mazi tu

Try, and get in touch with him

(5)b' prospa $\theta$ ise ke ela se epafi mazi tu

The difference between (5)a, a' and (5)b, b' is that in the former  $V_1$  seems to have a complement of its own which is suppressed or "deleted" that is, (5)a' has a construction like this:

prospa $\theta$ ise(na kanis X) ke ela se epafi mazi tu

try (to do X) and get in touch with him

This does not happen in (5)b, b' where  $V_2$  is the complement of  $V_1$ .

Sentence (5)a' cannot be reduced to a  $V_1$   $V_2$  Imperative construction whereas (5)b' can do so as witness:

(5)a' \*prospaθise,ela se epafi mazi tu

(5)b' prospaθise ela se epafi mazi tu

Note that there is a selectional restriction on  $V_2$  if  $V_1$  ke  $V_2$  is a subordinate construction that is, if  $V_2$  depends on  $V_1$ ; however, this restriction does not apply so long as  $V_2$  is not dependent on  $V_1$  that is, if the relationship between  $V_1$  and  $V_2$  is one of genuine coordination. Compare the following :

(6)a o janis θa prospaθisi,ke θa katarefsi se merikes  
meres

John will try, and will collapse in a few days

b \* o janis θa prospaθisi ke θa katarefsi se merikes  
meres

In sentence (6)a  $V_1$  has a non-explicit complement, that is

(6)a has a underlying structure like the following:

(6)a' o janis θa prospaθisi (na kani X) ke θa katarefsi  
se merikes meres

John will try (to do X) and will collapse in a  
few days

Note that the verb 'katareo' is a non-self controllable verb. As such it is o.k. in (6)a but not in (6)b for the following reason: In (6)a  $V_2$  is not dependent on  $V_1$  unlike (6)b. On the other hand,  $V_2$  depends on  $V_1$  in (6)b. But note that the selectional restriction which applies to (6)b, it also applies to (6)c below which is a complement clause with  $V_2$  expressing purpose.

(6)c \* o janis θa prospaθisi na katarefsi se merikes  
meres

John will try to collapse in a few days

There is a selectional restriction which requires that the verb of a purposive clause be self controllable

(cf. \*'prospaθise na ise psilos' try to be tall).

The unacceptability of both (6)b and (6)c is not coincidental; it is due to the fact that in both these sentences  $V_2$  belongs to a subordinate purposive clause and in both these sentences  $V_2$  has the same selectional restriction.

In this section, I have tried to prove that there are  $V_1$  ke  $V_2$  constructions reducible to  $V_1 V_2$  which are cases of asyndetic subordination and not asyndetic coordination. The evidence I have presented is phonological and semantic. Unfortunately there is no adequate syntactic justification to support my analysis which I believe to be intuitively correct, nevertheless.

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